

Western formal education in Gold Coast-Ghana: An overview of colonial educational policies
and curriculum from 1919-1927

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Abstract

At the arrival of Europeans in the 15th century, some form of formal and informal education existed in the Gold Coast—now Ghana, with the goal of introducing young people into the society. As a result of colonization, the colonizing nation implemented their own form of formal education within the Gold Coast colony. An understanding of the present-day educational policies and curriculum in Ghana and its effects on the Ghanaian people must be rooted in analyzing the various educational policies and curriculum implemented by her colonizer, the British. Britain played a significant role in the introduction of western formal education in which the Guggisberg administration of 1919 to 1927 has been characterized as the most successful on issues related to education in the Gold Coast colony. Findings from this study serve as elements for educational policy formulation and curriculum development for governments, policy makers, educators, administrators, teachers, and students by helping them to appreciate, understand, and critically analyze how past events have shaped the present educational policies and curriculum.

This study critically analyzed the 1919 to 1927 period when the Gold Coast had a proliferation in educational development, a kind never experienced in the then British Empire. It affords stakeholders the opportunity to know the past mistakes and predict future problems with the view to making the necessary changes for an improved educational system.

Using historiography methodology, Critical Policy Analysis (CPA), and Postcolonial Theory (PCT) as frameworks for interpretation and analysis, it is evident the British colonial government's educational policies, and curriculum under Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg made some positive impacts including building of Accra Government School, Achimota school, road systems, and road network. However, its aim at character training and civilization of men and women to become leaders of their own country instead became a means to achieve social control

over the people. I emphatically state, what the policies said were different from what they achieved.

Research findings like loss of land, cheap laborers, break of family systems and sense of community, loss of cultural identity and religious practices, taste and preference for foreign goods and services, and language loss affirms that western formal education introduced to the people of Gold Coast-Ghana by the Christian missionaries and under British colonial government from 1919 to 1927 didn't serve the interest of natives. The education which aimed at civilizing a 'primitive' people instead resulted in acculturation, religious proselytism, and philology/language dominance thereby indicating the clear disparities between what policy says and what policy does. These together became the medium for imperialism and inculcation of western traditions, values, way of life, and systems. The findings further reveal how the colonizer maintained systematic marginalization of the colonized through policies.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to the memories of my late father, Mr. Lawrence Twum Wiafe, who unfortunately died at my tender age but left behind a building property that provides me shelter and part rented out for the support of my education. Sadly, you did not stay long enough but I am glad your investments were useful to me. And to my mum, Madam Juliana Ntiamoah Wiafe, you're an epitome of motherhood. You're a lot of strength to me; thanks for all the sacrifices.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

This chapter introduces the study and sets the scene for this historical research context. This is followed by the statement of the research problem and purpose of the study. Then, the research questions guiding the study will be presented. The methodological assumptions will be provided, then the definition of terms adopted by the researcher follows. Limitations of the study will be addressed, followed by the statement of significance of the study. After which, the researcher's research assumptions/bias will be duly communicated. Finally, the entire outline of the study to guide the reader through the various chapters will be explored.

Overview

“Those who mismanage our affairs would silence our criticism by pretending they have facts not available to the rest of us...” “Until the lions have their own historians, the history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter.”

Chinua Achebe¹

The arrival of Europeans in the 15th century to the shores of the coast as depicted in figure 1.0, which later became known as the Gold Coast, is the name given to her by the first European sailors—the Portuguese. Even though the Portuguese had several motives for voyaging south, they were attracted by rumors of fertile African lands that were rich in gold and ivory. In line with the strong religious sentiments of the time, when they finally reached the coastal town of Elmina in 1471, they also focused on Christian proselytism. This activity had great impact on the educational life of the Gold Coast people. According to Graham, the aim of Portuguese to make converts to the Catholic faith probably made them the first to open a school in the Gold Coast.² The school, which started in their Elmina Castle, pictured in figure 1.1, became the first and began western formal education in the Gold Coast. Even though subsequent European

¹ Chinua Achebe: <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/history-of-mankind>

² C. K. Graham, *The history of education in Ghana: From the earliest times to the Declaration of independence*. (London, UK: Frank Cass 1971).

settlers like the Dutch, Danes, and Swedish made strides in providing western formal education for the Gold Coast people, the British recognition and influence in the sector is significant largely due to colonialism. A general but comprehensive history of formal education in Gold Coast in the lenses of British colonial educational policy and curriculum is a starting point for/to understanding Ghanaian education today.

Like all African nations, the Gold Coast was born as a consequence of the European scramble for Africa³ that occurred between 1881 and 1914, and represented a process of colonization and annexation of African territory by European powers.⁴ The Berlin Conference of 1884 portrayed in figure 1.2, regulated European colonization and control of natural resources for domestic industry as argued by Daniel De Leon.⁵ According to Ieuan Griffiths, boundaries collectively divided the continent into its many countries and subsequently divided people.⁶ The frontiers were based on astronomical, artificial lines, and physical features and rarely coincided with tribal areas or their particular interests.⁷ A typical example of a boundary problem as a result of the partitioning of Africa is seen in the over decade-old row between two West African neighbors, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire, where the latter accused the former of violating their sovereign rights.⁸ This slowed the development of oil fields and at times soured relations between the two nations who also grow 60 percent of the world's cocoa. This slowed the

³ https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Scramble_for_Africa: The expression of Scramble for Africa was usually used to report the race among Europeans to claim as much African territory as they could. The Scramble for Africa refers to the period between roughly 1884 and 1914, when the European colonizers partitioned the – up to that point – largely unexplored African continent into protectorates, colonies, and 'free-trade areas. At the time the colonizers had limited knowledge of local conditions and their primary consideration was to avoid conflict among themselves for African soil. Since no one could foresee the short-lived colonial era, the border design – which endured the wave of independence in the 1960s – had sizable long-lasting economic and political consequences.

⁴ Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind* (Heinemann, 1986).

⁵ D., de Leon, "The Conference at Berlin on the West-African Question," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. I, no.1 (1886): 103-139.

⁶ Ieuan Griffiths, "The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 150, no. 2 (1986): 206-207.

⁷ Pedro F. M. Bondo, "The History of Angolan Education 1930-1980: The convergence of Colonialism, Religion, and Decree" *PhD Dissertation* (Kansas State University, 2015).

development of oil fields and at times soured relations⁸ between the two nations who also grow 60 percent of the world's cocoa. Another classical example is the boundary dispute between Ghana and Togo, which was demarcated between Britain and France and has for many years caused constant friction, the interruption of trade, and continuous accusations from both sides on who is harboring and sponsoring refugees' organizations.⁹

When the British took over the properties of earlier European settlers, traditional forms of education existed. These traditional forms were the ways the indigenous people transferred knowledge from one generation to the other. In addition, some form of western formal education was in practice stemming from previous European settlers but had various foci and interest in respect to policies and curriculum. So, in 1901 when the British finally took over the Gold Coast Territory,¹⁰ they introduced various educational policies and curriculum to unify and direct education in the region.

Gold Coast-Ghana-Historical Background

Before March 6, 1957, Ghana was called the Gold Coast. This name was given to her by the first Europeans, who were Portuguese sailors, and arrived at the coast in 1471. Anomansa, which later became known as Elmina among the Portuguese and Edina among the indigenous people, is the first European settlement in West Africa. Elmina comes from the Portuguese word

⁸ Maxwell Owusu, "Relations with Immediate African Neighbors," *A Country Study: Ghana* (La Verle Berry, editor. 2018).

⁹ Austin Dennis, "The Uncertain Frontier: Ghana-Togo," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 1, no. 2 (1963): 139-45. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/159025>.

¹⁰ The Asante territory, the largest area which was yet to be occupied by the British was taken over after the British Empire conquered the Asante Empire in the final Anglo-Asante Wars. The final war, a rebellion called the War of the Golden Stool, took place from March through September 1900. That conflict began when British representative, Sir Frederick Mitchell Hodgson, sat on the Golden Stool. The Stool, which was understood by the Ashanti to be the symbol of national unity, was not a throne. When Hodgson's act became known, Yaa Asantewaa, the Queen Mother of the Asantahene, led the rebellion, which resulted in the death of 1,000 British and Allied soldiers and 2,000 Ashanti. Both totals were higher than the deaths from all previous wars combined. The British eventually subdued the rebellion and sent Asantewaa into exile in the Seychelles. From that point, the British controlled the entire Gold Coast until Ghana became independent in 1957.

“La Mina” illustrated in figure 1.3, a name given to the town because of the abundance of gold. The quantities of gold found along the coast as exploration continued earned the area the name Gold Coast. This became generally accepted by subsequent European settlers and was adopted by the English colonizers who ruled the Sub-Sahara nation until independence.

Ghana was/is the name adopted at independence—a name after the medieval Ghana Empire of West Africa of 4th–13th century, whose actual name was Wagadugu, but had Ghana as the title of the kings who ruled the kingdom. Stories are told that the quality characteristics of leadership in Medieval Ghana were appealing to the Gold Coast independent fighters led by Osagefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, pictured in figure 1.5, hence the adoption of the name at Independence. Geographically, the old Ghana Empire is 500 miles north of the present Ghana and occupied the area between Rivers Senegal and Niger, as represented in figure 1.6. Few inhabitants of present Ghana had ancestors linked with medieval Ghana.

The country is the first African nation to the south of the Sahara to gain political independence from colonial rule in March 6, 1957, as depicted in figure 1.7.¹¹ This former British colony of 92,000 square miles about 239,460 square kilometers shares boundaries with three French-speaking nations: the Côte d'Ivoire (720 km) to the west, Burkina Faso (602 km) to the north, and Togo (1,098 km) to the east. The Greenwich Meridian, which passes through London also transverses to the eastern part of Ghana at Tema. With a total land size of the area, Ghana is about the size of the United Kingdom and slightly smaller than the state of Oregon in United States.¹²

¹¹ Dr. Kwame Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast to begin his political career as an advocate of national independence. His Convention People's party, which achieved rapid success through its unprecedented appeal to the common voter, won him the elections of 1952 which made him the Prime Minister and retained the position when Ghana declared independence from British in 1957. Ghanaians approved a new constitution and elected Nkrumah President.

¹² D., Kwamina and B.A., George, *New Geography of Ghana* (Longman, 1988).

Like many African countries, it's a diverse, multilingual nation-around 50 indigenous languages¹³ spoken throughout the country. The most widespread language is Akan, the language of Ghana's largest single ethnic group of the same name. However, English is the lingua franca and official language spoken by more than half the population. It is also the formal language of instruction at all levels of education and indigenous languages are also used in elementary school depending on the dominant language of the area. Ghana is a democracy that holds free and largely fair elections. Her national colors are Red, Yellow and Green with the black star in the middle. Before 2018, Ghana was divided into 10 administrative regions; today she has 16 regions with 260 districts.

Education in Ancient Times to the Arrival of European

Contrary to widespread beliefs, formal, and informal education were actively in existence in Africa of which Ghana is a part, prior to the commencement of colonialism. At the formal, non-formal, and informal levels, Africans in various parts of the continent were consistently involved in the business of transferring knowledge to the younger generation. Walter Rodney asserts, "the colonizers did not introduce education into Africa, they introduced a new set of formal educational institutions which partly supplemented and partly replaced those which were

¹³ Anyidoho, A and M.E.K. Dakubu, Ghana: *Indigenous Languages, English, and an Emerging National Identity*, In Andrew Simpson (ed.) *Language and National Identity in Africa*, (2008): 140-157.

Different languages are spoken in different regions of Ghana. In Upper Western Region, the languages spoken include Gagaare, Birifor, and Sisaala. Ghanaians who live in the Northern Region speak Dagbane, Gonja, Anufo/Chokosi, Mampruli, Mo, Deg, Nawuri, Chumburung, Birifor, Hanga, Konkomba, and Tampilma among other languages. In the Volta Regions of Ghana, the languages spoken are Akyode, Nkonya, Adele, Ntrubo, and Ewe. Kasem, Buli, Frafra, Kusaal, Kasem, and Koma are spoken by people who live in the Upper Eastern Region of Ghana. The people who live in the Greater Accra Region speak Ga and Dangbe. On the other hand, those who live in the Western Region speak Nzema. Though the languages are many, they are mutually intelligible if they belong to the same ethnic group. For example, the Mampelle and Frafra languages are mutually intelligible since they belong to the same ethnic group called Mole-Dagbani.

there before.”¹⁴ Therefore, the choice of the word “western formal” in this research means European-type education. For emphasis, *there was education ongoing in the Gold Coast* as opposed to the erroneous perception that before the arrival of the Europeans, there was no form of education. Antwi words it better when he explained the term education was used specifically to communicate instruction in European-type schools.¹⁵ Those who have been to schools were described as educated and others, including those who learned some form of trade and apprenticeship such as hairdressing or auto-mechanic, are considered uneducated, thus restricting the use of the concept.

In ancient times education across the Gold Coast differed across ethnicities, all of which operated with various forms of economic, chieftaincy, and community systems. Yet, there was identifiable unity in the culture of learning and knowledge transmission among these ethnic groups.¹⁶ Traditional informal education existed intending to introduce young people into society. This was considered a sacred trust for grandparents, parents, and kinsmen to teach children taboos, history, music, rhetoric, and most importantly, survival.¹⁷ This informal education Antwi identified, was meant to make the child a part of the totality of the social consciousness, hence the significance of traditional education in Ghana did and continues to play

¹⁴ W. Rodney, *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* (Bogle L'Overture, London, 1972): 263.

¹⁵ Moses K. Antwi, *Education: Society and Development in Ghana* (Unimax Publishers Limited, 1992):23. The statement that Africa had no history has been proven untrue. Research indicates African history was not written because there was nothing like reading and writing. Oral traditions through music, narratives, Ananse story, proverbs, crafts, reference to a significant natural occurrence, and celebrations of event, etc. preserved her history. An example of her traditional way of learning was through an apprenticeship where family arts and occupation were thought and transferred to younger members. So today in Ghana, specific communities, tribes, and ethnic groups are noted for their specialty in various sectors. As a member of the Ghanaian community, we have come to accept that the Ewe tribe is noted for woodwork, the Fante tribe for creative arts, and the Kwahu people for business ventures. It is important to emphasize the indigenous people found and created their occupation and source of livelihood based on their community resource. As a result, people along the coast were fishermen who taught the act of fishing to members of their community.

¹⁶ C. Ezeanya-Esiobu, “A Faulty Foundation: Historical Origins of Formal Education Curriculum in Africa,” *Indigenous Knowledge and Education in Africa. Frontiers in African Business Research* (Springer, Singapore, 2019). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-6635-2_3

¹⁷ Ibid., Moses 1992: 23.

an important role in introducing all institutions, taboos, values, and functions to the society. This important cultural quality reflected in the traditional education, which was available to the younger generation and was a great deal of importance, with solemnity attached to the passing on of knowledge from one generation to another. Like in most of Africa, education in the Gold Coast was not done in isolation but involved a collection of individuals, such as age grade.¹⁸ These groups of individuals were taught progressively as they grew in age and maturity, with their education emphasizing both the physical and metaphysical realities.

Abdou Moumouni notes although parents took an active role in the education of their children, nuclear, and extended family members considered it their primary responsibility to ensure their wards were well socialized according to the requirements of the society.¹⁹ Traditional education among the indigenous people by no exception relied extensively on community effort. The high importance attached to education makes the popular African saying “it takes a village to raise a child”.²⁰ One thing this ensures is that even children born to less privileged parents have as much opportunity to transcend their economic disadvantage by being taught by the rich and the poor alike.²¹

In the traditional education system, the baby is allowed to latch on to the mother from birth for as long as 6 years. It is beside the mother that the baby gets the full assurance of love and care, strong foundations needed to ensure a strong but empathic adult. The African woman is renowned for her unparalleled commitment to the health and well-being of her child, going to

¹⁸ Moumouni Abdou, *Education in Africa* (Praeger. New York, 1986): 15.

¹⁹ Ibid., Moumouni 1986.

²⁰ Caracciolo, D., and Mungai, A.M, *In the Spirit of Ubuntu: Stories of Teaching and Research* (Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 2009).

²¹ Ibid., Caracciolo and Mungai: 16. The sense of community and belongingness characterizing the Gold Coast community gave advantage to oneness. There was no segregation in socio-economic level hence, children from less privileged parents made friends with rich children and vice-verse. This gave opportunity for each class to learn from the other characteristics that were relevant for their betterment.

great lengths to ensure they are strong, healthy, and well-behaved.²² At around the age of six, the boy child is completely weaned off his mother's care and attention, with the father assuming the main responsibility for his education. The girl child remains under the primary care of her mother. At this stage, the child is gradually introduced into the life of adults and is called upon frequently to perform various tasks for adults within the community. The child also participates in games and role-playing, which among other benefits, develop him intellectually, psychologically, and socially.

Traditionally, informal education as provided by the indigenous people is not disconnected from life itself.²³ It emphasized the practical day-to-day happenings of life with little abstract learning and procedures. In this setting, the basic foundation of societal values, knowledge, and culture are transmitted to the child and this made education effective because it intertwined with life activities in the community.²⁴ For instance, the young girl by assisting the mother to cook certain dishes, and going to the market to buy and sell, soon learns how to be both a good home keeper and an astute trader, independent of her mother. The little boy who starts out by assisting his father to farm the family plot of land, and who goes hunting for grasscutters, and other smaller animals, soon learns how to farm a sizable plot of land all by himself and how to hunt for bigger game.²⁵ Emphasizing this, Moumouni states, "it is by accomplishing productive tasks that the child and adolescent familiarize themselves with adult jobs and are initiated into the different social aspects of their future lives"²⁶. Pre-colonial education therefore involves the child being a part of a solid and oftentimes complex relationship, which aimed at imparting knowledge by members of his community.

²²Ibid., Moumouni Abdou 1968: 16.

²³ Ibid., Moumouni 1968: 18.

²⁴ Moses K. Antwi, *Education: Society and Development in Ghana* (Unimax Publishers Limited, 1992).

²⁵ Ibid., Moumouni 1968: 20.

²⁶ Ibid., Moumouni 1968: 19.

Commenting on the pragmatic nature of the traditional education system, Abraham referred to elders of the various ethnic groups of the Gold Coast who were renowned for being custodians of knowledge and wisdom, making them the indispensable chief architects in shaping the minds of the younger generation. Citing the popular Akan proverb, “the words of one’s elders are greater than amulet” shows that virtue was inculcated more through exercise than through precept.”²⁷ The reverence for age and the wisdom is also indicated by the proverb “there was an old man before a lord was born”.²⁸ Proverbs are deep philosophical truths compressed in one single statement. The unwritten nature of Ghanaian proverbs made them expedient in precolonial times, such that from a single proverb, a whole textbook of philosophical musings could be written were it to be in a society where writing was extensively utilized. Proverbs are widespread across all African societies, and their themes bear strong resemblance to one another from place to place. The Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria imply that the world has turned upside down, with the saying, “when an egg drops into an earthen pot, it is the pot that breaks.” So, does the Akan ethnic group of Ghana harbor similar sentiments when they say, “the lizard which dropped from the top of the coconut tree, nodded his head up and down, and asked the earth if it felt dizzy.”²⁹ Folklore is an important part of the pre-colonial education because it transcends the entertainment realm and holds deep and stimulating philosophical truths.³⁰ Across the various ethnic groups, the education of the child involved hours of sitting under the moonlight listening to folklores, as illustrated in figure 1.8, told by the elders in the compound. These stories were undoubtedly both recreational and educative, cutting across disciplines, including philosophy, literature, law, psychology, music, drama, arts, and sociology to mention few.

²⁷ W. Abraham, *The mind of Africa* (University of Chicago, 1969), 70.

²⁸ Ibid., Abraham 1969:71.

²⁹ Ibid., Abraham 1969: 94.

³⁰ Ibid., Ezeanya-Esiobu 2019: 24.

Some of the stories were designed to emphasize the superiority of brilliance over steadiness. For example, the African Tortoise won his race against the Hare not by toiling upward in the night while his companion slept, but by planting in the shrubs along the route several tortoises like him, the last of whom stirred himself to the tape at a suitable time.³¹

Some formal approach to education in the traditional setting begins when the child approaches puberty. Puberty Rites present an opportunity for an adolescent young boy or girl to be fully recognized as an adult in our society.³² This stage, which is typically characterized by physical growth and maturity as well as emotional changes in youngsters, is regarded critical in our communities. This is the time young adults are intensively taken through weeks of training under an instructor to be reminded of the cultural values and be taught their roles as young adults. Basically, it is through this medium that the girls are given highlights of the traditional ideals of womanhood. They are given the rights to be marry, but still, have to be shaped to become good wives. Boys, on the other hand, are encouraged to step up and be responsible for their families. In general, they are prepared in matters of marriage, childbearing, sexual life, and family responsibilities. Interestingly, male puberty rites in Ghana are not as common as their female counterparts. For example, ethnic groups such as Akan and Krobo, from southern, eastern, and Ashanti regions who perform the Bragoro, pictured in figure 1.10, and Dipo,³³ as shown in figure

³¹ Ibid., Abraham 1969: 96.

³² <https://yen.com.gh/110451-puberty-rites-ghana-types-significance.html>

³³ The Bragoro, which is also referred to as Brapue, is conducted after a girl's first menstruation. Typically, it's the girl's mother who announces the news as she prepares for the ceremony. A girl who is set to be initiated is called Sakyima or Brani. Before the rite takes place there is some spiritual and material preparation that has to be conducted. The spiritual arrangement of the event involves finding out if the girl's soul, locally known as 'kra,' conforms with the activities of the events. As for material preparation, it usually requires things like food items, money, chicken among others. While still in the preparation mode, the girl to be initiated is presented to the 'queen-mother' who simply carries out an inspection to check if she is pregnant or not. Virginity is regarded as purity in the community and hence it is highly valued. Girls who happened to be 'impure' before initiation used to be cast out alongside the man who impregnated her. But then again, things have so far changed as special rituals are now conducted to make a girl 'pure' again-even after losing virginity.

Unlike the Akan's, puberty rite among the Krobo people takes place in between the months of April to May after announcements are made in February for any parent with a daughter at puberty age to bring her forth and let them be 'transformed' into Krobo woman. During this period, the girls are dressed in a special way to show that they are initiates. They have food restrictions and are only allowed to drink water from a well. They are taught the Klama

1.9, rites respectively have only girls undergoing these ceremonies. However, puberty rites in Northern Ghana include both girls and boys. It is argued that these rites are not regular for boys because, unlike girls, the lads are taught from a very young age how to be brave and responsible. For instance, Sisaala tribe in the upper west region of my country, boys always walk in the company of men. They are taught every aspect of manhood responsibility except for sex, which comes later on when they are fully matured.

The effectiveness of traditional education adequately supplied the blacksmith, weavers, fishermen, farmers, and other artisans needed to stimulate the economy of the various communities. Through apprenticeship, family arts and occupations were thought and transferred to younger members. So, in Ghana today, specific communities, tribes, and ethnic groups are noted for their specialty in various vocations. As a member of the Ghanaian community, we have come to accept the Ewe tribe for woodworks, the Fantes for creative arts and delicious delicacies, while the Kwahu and Asante people for business ventures. It is important to also emphasize the indigenous people found and created their occupation and source of livelihood based on their community resource. As a result, people along the coast were fishermen who taught the act of fishing to members of their community, as portrayed in Figure 1.12, while those from Bonwire a suburb of Asante region and its environs have continued to teach the act of weaving, as shown in Figure 1.11³⁴ from one generation to the other.

dance, undergo a ritual bath and the crux of the rite is when the girls are made to sit on a stone which is believed determines virginity. Any girl who is found not to be a virgin at the time of the rites used to be ostracized in the past and was treated as an outcast. Nowadays, a set of purification rituals are performed for such a girl. On the last day of the rites, the girls are dressed up in colorful Kente cloth (a traditional cloth in Ghana) and adorned with a lot of beads on their neck, arms, and waist. A durbar is held during which the girls perform the Klama dance amidst singing and in the presence of onlookers.

³⁴ Bowditch, T. E. *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Asante*, (London, 1966). 35.

Traditionally, weaving is practiced in Ghana by the people of Asante, Ewe, and the North. The Asante Kente is woven in villages such as Bonwire, Woonoo, Maape, Adanwomase, and Ntonso, outside Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti region. Kente is also woven by the Ewe people in the Volta Region, in communities such as Kpetoe (Agotime Kpetoe, and Agotime Abenyinase), Anlo and Somme areas (Denu, Agbozume, Klikor, Wheta, and Keta), and Mafi-Kumase area in the Tongu District as well as Kpandu. In the Northern Region, major weaving activities are practiced in Doboya, and Yendi. Although strip weaving traditions are common throughout West Africa, Asante

It is evidenced from the above, traditional education emphasized practical exercises in orature, music,³⁵ art, history, and general knowledge among others. Borrowing from Moumouni it is welcoming to say, “pre-colonial African education responded to the economic, social, and political conditions of precolonial African societies and it is in relation to these conditions that it must be examined and analyzed”.³⁶ Moumouni further asserts, traditional African education:

was fully capable of supplying the necessary elements to maintain in all its essentials the level attained by African society before the slave trade and colonialism, in the economic, social, technical, and cultural spheres. In this sense, one can say that it fulfilled its objectives ... even today, the technical achievements, political and economic organization, work of art, the striking personality of older Africans and the intact vitality of the peoples of Black Africa bear witness to this fact.³⁷

Even though the community-oriented efforts of education in ancient times give the appearance of an unstructured system that leaves such an issue as important as education to the whims and caprices of individuals within community, researchers insist it was far from being undecided and incoherent.³⁸ Traditional education is so structured that, from the time of birth until adulthood, the individual is subjected to a well thought-out plan of inculcation of values, discipline, education, and all that is needed to ensure an adult who will be useful to the overall growth and development of society since this form of education intertwined with life activities in the community.

Politically, socially, and culturally, the successes of the native people under the leadership of chiefs, sub-chiefs, queen mothers, heads of clans, and families, demonstrate the effectiveness of the traditional education structure and system until the arrival of the Europeans. These new settlers described the “cherished traditional ways of teaching and learning primitive

Kente is unquestionably the most popular and best known of all African textiles because it is produced in greater quantity, exported to more places, and incorporated into a greater variety of forms than any other African fabric. Also, it has captured the attention of visitors since at least 1817.

³⁵ W.E.F. Ward, “Gold Coast Music in Education” *Oversea Education*, Vol., no. 2, (January, 1934), 66-71

³⁶ Ibid., Moumouni 1968: 28.

³⁷ Ibid., Moumouni 1968: 28.

³⁸ Ibid., Moumouni, 1968.

and referred to the indigenes as not educated and thus not civilized”.³⁹ Hence, this was the rationale for their thoughts for the need and subsequent introduction of western formal education to the Gold Coast.

Arrival of Europeans and Early Introduction to Western Formal Education

The earliest contact with European-type education was with the Portuguese opening the first castle school in Elmina in 1529. Concerned with the education of the sons of European men from natives’ women as represented in Figure 1.13, the castle school gave religious instruction and taught reading and writing. Children of affluent coastal traders and local chiefs were also instructed at the castle school.⁴⁰ The Portuguese foray into the field of education was short-lived with the seizure of the Elmina castle by the Dutch in 1637. The seventeenth century witnessed the Dutch, Danes, French, and British involvement in the provision of western education in the Gold Coast. The Dutch schools advanced the Christian faith and stressed proficiency in the Dutch language. Some Africans such as Jacobus Capitaine were given the opportunity to further their education in Europe. Capitaine attended Leyden University and became the first African Protestant minister in the Gold Coast. He also successfully translated The Apostles' Creed into the local language of Fanti.⁴¹

The Danes picked up where the Dutch left off. In 1722 they established a school in the Christiansburg Castle, pictured in Figure 1.15. One of the early beneficiaries of the Danish castle school education was a mulatto,⁴² Christian Protestant. He also received further education in

³⁹ Ernestina Wiafe, “Formal Education in Gold Coast-Ghana: An overview of colonial educational policy and curriculum from 1919 to 1927,” *Educational Consideration* vol. 47, no.1 (2021).

⁴⁰ Affluent coastal traders and local chiefs had the opportunity for their children to be educated because of the business relation with the Europeans and to have their children as interpreters for business purposes.

⁴¹ Charles Martin, “Significant Trends in the Development of Ghanaian Education,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 45, no. 1 (1976), 47.

⁴² Mulatto was a common term used to refer to children from European men and Native women. See: C. K. Graham, *The history of education in Ghana: From the earliest times to the Declaration of independence* (London, UK: Frank Cass 1971).

Denmark at Copenhagen University. He broke off his studies and went back to the Gold Coast as a Moravian missionary in 1737. The mission work failed and he ended up as teacher at the Christiansburg castle school. Later attempts to send Moravian brethren to the Coast also failed due to high mortality rates among the missionaries. In the 1820s Major de Richelieu, the Danish governor 1822 to 1825, advocated for educational and missionary work at the Christiansburg Castle.⁴³ De Richelieu's efforts ultimately led to the establishment of a post for the Basel missionaries in the eastern part of the Gold Coast in 1828. Castle schools provided the avenue for cross-cultural interaction, which compounded the linguistic situation in the Gold Coast. The language taught in these castle schools was contingent on which European power established the school. The offspring of mixed marriages had to learn English, Dutch, and Danish, and the particular European language also served as the medium of instruction. Little regard was paid to the traditional system of education and its use of the vernacular.⁴⁴

The company of English merchants requested Reverend Thomas Thompson of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to establish a school at Cape Coast in 1751. Reverend Thompson trained three African boys. One of the boys was Philip Quarcoe who was sent to further his education in England in 1754. Upon his return to Cape Coast in 1766, Quarcoe became the first African Anglican priest, pictured in Figure 1.16 and continued the educational initiative started by Reverend Thomas Thompson. However, the Anglican efforts did not last beyond 1792, due to lack of official support and the waning interest from the English merchants. Ultimately, in 1821, the British government abolished the Company of Merchants and its forts were controlled by the Governor of Sierra Leone, Sir Charles McCarthy. McCarthy revived the

⁴³ H. O.A., McWilliam, *The Development of Education in Ghana: An Outline* (London: Longman Green & Company limited, 1959), 9.

⁴⁴ It should be observed that Christian Protten, while teaching at Christiansburg, insisted that the vernacular be used as the medium of instruction. This caused a major conflict with the Danish Chaplain at Christiansburg, the school's supervisor, who considered African culture (and local language) as inferior and scorned Protten's ideas.

Cape Coast school but placed it under the dominion of the British colonial government.

Governor McCarthy's school led to the first group of English-educated Africans in the Gold Coast. From this point on, British influence on education was solidified. English became firmly established as the medium of instruction in the school at Cape Coast and by the middle of the nineteenth century, three main agencies ran the schools in the Gold Coast, including the British government.

Merchants

Merchants provided education designed to produce people who would help the merchants with administering foreign business or the business interest of the colonizer. This was the Mercantile Era occasioned by the end of slave trade. It was at this point when European slave traders acceded to the call for abolition of slavery because they discovered it would better benefit them if they allowed the African to stay in their own land to provide resources like gold and produce items including crops⁴⁵ and plantations needed by Europe in exchange for European goods such as metal knives, mirrors, wine, rum, cloths, and guns. Such an education happened at a very low scale, and only a small percentage of the population received it with the intent of training natives for employment as interpreters. To ensure this purpose was achieved, Merchants sometimes worked with the missionaries in shaping the curriculum to enhance their interest. This collaboration likely was to ensure the mission schools produced students who met the standards of the merchants. Standards such basic arithmetic, bargaining skills, personal hygiene, and appropriate conducts for merchandising purposes.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Z. E. Lawuo, "The beginnings and development of western education in Tanganyika: The German period." In: Abel GM, Ishumi, Mmari GR (e.ds) *The educational process. Theory and practice, with a focus on Tanzania and other countries*. Department of Education (University of Dares Salaam, 1978), 47–65.

⁴⁶ Ernestina Wiafe, "Formal Education in Gold Coast-Ghana: An overview of colonial educational policy and curriculum from 1919 to 1927," *Educational Consideration* vol. 46, no.1 (2020).

Missionaries

Then the arrival of Christianity drastically upturned the nature, structure, and systems of the cherished traditional education processes and practices. The missions were motivated by their zeal for evangelism and mission schools became the primary agent of spreading the gospel and Christian civilization. They saw education as useful for training indigenes to help the missionaries during worship times. As such, those who were selected⁴⁷ were trained to become catechists and messengers, which they accomplished with an acknowledgment that education was an important means for mission evangelization. Lawuo, emphatically states Christian missionaries used education as their means for gaining converts and making entry into new areas to pave the way for Western socio-economic and political structures. According to David Livingstone, who first came to Africa as a missionary sent out by the London Missionary Society, the most important duty of the European:

Christian Missionary in Africa was to integrate the African into European economic structures. Africa, he declared, should not be allowed to industrialize, but instead it should serve as a plantation for the metropole, growing the crops demanded by industrial Europe.⁴⁸

Notably among these missionaries are the Basel, Wesleyan, and Bremen. These missions significantly influenced the systematic educational development in the Gold Coast.

The Basel Mission

The Basel missionaries arrived on the shores of the Gold Coast in 1828 and by 1835 had established their headquarters in Accra. The Basel Mission was a German society, with

⁴⁷ J. H. Neketia, "Progress in Gold Coast education" *Transactions of the Gold Coast & Togoland Historical Society* 1, no. 3 (1953), 2. The problem of trained local preachers was very acute as the missionaries were unfamiliar with vernacular. They felt trained locals could easily reach the indigenes as they spoke same language. However, selection to receive training to become a catechist and messenger were on good morals, devotion, and recommendation from the church. The educational standard was a person who had completed six years in the primary school.

⁴⁸ Ibid., Lawuo 1978: 50.

headquarters in Basel, Switzerland. Due to severe illness and loss of lives, the missionaries moved inland to Akropong, a place with high altitude, where they opened a boys' school in 1843, and by 1847 they established a girls' school, portrayed in Figure 1.18.⁴⁹ Both the boys' and girls' schools were later transferred to Aburi Girls, whereas the boys' school became a teacher training college. As soon as pupils with some education became available in 1848, the missionaries started a seminary for the training of catechists at Akropong and another one at Christiansburg two years later. It is worth noting that the Basel Missionaries, unlike the Wesleyans, emphasized the use of the local language. By 1875, they had translated the Bible into Twi, then developed Twi grammar and dictionary in 1881. These translation efforts made it possible for the mission to have a steady stream of trained catechists and teachers to help spread Christianity in practically every part of the Akropong area. Even though the Basel missionaries encountered some opposition to girls' education, by 1918 their schools in Akropong had almost as many girls as boys.⁵⁰ The mission's efforts in technical education were also unique. They opened a technical training school in Christiansburg, where courses like carpentry, bookbinding, blacksmithing, and shoe-making were taught.⁵¹

The Wesleyan Mission

Before the arrival of the Wesleyans from England to Cape Coast in 1835, the castle school was flourishing. Led by Reverend Joseph Dunwell, the Wesleyans conceived the idea of establishing a school as a means to spread Christianity, but he died within a few months.⁵² His successor, Reverend T. B. Freeman, established a second school in Cape Coast. By 1841, the

⁴⁹ J. H Neketia, "Progress in Gold Coast education" *Transactions of the Gold Coast & Togoland Historical Society* 1, no. 3 (1953), 2.

⁵⁰ BMA D-01. 38a.A-IV. "Minutes of Synods Held in Akwapim and Akyem" (1883).
<https://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/100214441>.

⁵¹ C. K. Graham, *The history of education in Ghana: From the earliest times to the Declaration of independence* (London, UK: Frank Cass, 1971).

⁵² Ibid., Graham 1971.

Wesleyan missionaries had established nine schools in the colony, three of which were for females.⁵³ The missionaries opened schools further inland, and by 1880, the Wesleyan Mission had eighty-three schools. Instruction in the Colonial School and the Wesleyan Mission schools at Cape Coast Castle was in English despite the fact that Fanti was the language of the native people. Wesleyans worked on the Gold Coast for over forty years before efforts were made toward developing literature in the mother tongue.⁵⁴

The Bremen Mission

The Bremen missionaries, who were mainly north Germans, concentrated much of their work among the Ewe people. Upon their arrival in 1847, they went directly inland to Peki on the invitation of the chief; the leader of these missionaries was Reverend Lorenz Wolf.⁵⁵ As a result of the tribal war in 1853 and the far distance from the coast, the mission abandoned its activities at Peki and moved to Keta, another Ewe-speaking area along the southeast coast. From then on, the missionaries made a steady advance toward the inland once again.⁵⁶ Like the Basel Mission, the Bremen mission also emphasized the use of the Ewe language as a medium of instruction in their school. The only European language allowed was German. They published the first Ewe grammar book in 1857 and in 1905 published an Ewe dictionary.⁵⁷ By 1890, they had established a seminary at Amedzofe, a hilltop town, to train catechists and teachers. By 1906, the Bremen mission had established a few schools with about 3,000 pupils.⁵⁸

⁵³ Ibid., Graham 1971.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Graham 1971.

⁵⁵ H. O. A., McWilliam, & M. A., Kwamena-Poh, *The development of education in Ghana* (London: Longmans, 1975).

⁵⁶ Brydon Lynne, "Mission Archives in Bremen" *History in Africa*, no. 11 (1984), 375-77. doi:10.2307/3171644. There are longer publications by the Bremen missionaries in the series *Bremen Missionsschriften*, which concerns itself mostly with the development and assessment of missions and it works with Trans Volta Togoland.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Graham 1971.

⁵⁸ H. O. A. McWilliam, *The development of education in Ghana* (London: Longmans, Green 1962).

Colonial Government

Just as missionaries and merchants had a vested interest in the education of the people of the Gold Coast, colonial governments also saw an advantage in educating a small section of the population, including the sons of chiefs who were to help in the administration of the colonies. Borrowing from Corby, the British “founded many schools throughout their African colonial empire to educate sons of chiefs for positions of inferiority”.⁵⁹ It was not uncommon for the colonial administration to pick the most callous of the chiefs’ sons and train them to take up jobs as servants of the empire.⁶⁰ Such sons, according to Corby, were identified while they were relatively young before, they reached their teens. Even though substantial educational progress had been made by the various European settlers, there was wide variation in educational policies and curriculum which were based on their origin and missionary faith.⁶¹ Over time, neither the people of the Gold Coast nor the colonial agents’ missionaries, merchants, and colonial governments were happy with the quality of education as well as the result of colonial education. So, when the British took over properties of earlier European settlers in 1874 and finally assumed full territorial authority of the Gold Coast in 1901, they introduced educational policies and developed curriculum to unify and direct education in the region.

Statement of the Research Problem

The need for research in the area of educational policy in general has been suggested by several sources⁶² because of its association with human resource and national development.

⁵⁹ Corby, Richard, “Educating Africans for inferiority under British rule” *Comparative Education Review*, no. 34 (Bo school in Sierra Leon, 1990), 314–49. As I have mentioned earlier, both the missionaries and merchants educated selected few just so they become interpreters, clerks, and messengers. Colonial governments were no exception as these inferior positions were meant to serve the interests of the colonizer, even though such individuals who were selected felt privileged and thus looked down on other natives.

⁶⁰ Armah Ayi Kwei, *Two Thousand Seasons* (Penguin: Per Ankh, 2000), 1972.

⁶¹ , J. Macbeth, “Living with the colonial legacy: The Ghana story” *The Center for Commonwealth Education*, CCE Report no. 3, (Cambridge, UK: 2010).

⁶² The international Institute for Educational Planning for example has been one of the major advocates in educational policy planning and formulation.

Human resources developed through the educational system depend on the formulated educational policy expanding to maximize the capacity of the educational system to prepare the human resource supply for any nation.⁶³ The international institute for educational planning, for example, met during the summer of 1964 to discuss research needs in educational planning for countries with colonial educational experiences.⁶⁴ One of their recommendations was studies should be made of the “administration and implementation”,⁶⁵ and should involve study of countries with the colonial educational planning experience to examine their procedures and institutional framework for the formulation of educational policy.

Research in the area of educational policy formulation in Ghana was suggested by Gordon C. Ruscoe in his *Dysfunctionality in Jamaica Education*,⁶⁶ and implied by E. Christian Anderson in the *Development of Government Policy for Education in Sierra Leon* in 1882 to 1961.⁶⁷ In both studies, it is apparent evaluations or discussions on educational policy in former British colonial territories cannot be completely meaningful without referring to the British colonial education policy, or the nature of its formulation, and implementation. Ghana, which officially became a British colony from 1901 to 1957, happened to have the fundamentals of her education system deeply rooted in the various policies and curriculum formulated by her formal colonial master. Therefore, for a better analysis of educational policies and curriculum in Gold Coast-Ghana, it is prudent to have an overview of the historical background and an analysis of British educational policies and curricula specifically traced 1919 to 1927, the period when the

⁶³ Ibid., Ernestina Wiafe, 2020.

⁶⁴ Educational planning: A directory of training and research institutions UNESCO IIEP Paris: UNESCO (IIEP, 1964), 174.

⁶⁵ Guy Benveniste, “Major Research Needs in Educational Planning” *International Institute for Educational Planning*, (Bellagio, Italy, 1964), 28. <http://www.iiep.unesco.org/en>

⁶⁶ Gordon C. Ruscoe, “Dysfunctionality in Jamaican Education” *University of Michigan School of Education* (Ann Arbor: 1963), 121.

⁶⁷ James Clatworthy, F, “The Formulation of British Colonial Education, 1929-1961, *U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare*. (Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1965).

Gold Coast was said to have experienced a leap in education. Research has shown that Great Britain and her colonial empire offer a good case for the formulation of educational policy because they are unique among the nations of the world which pioneered in the field of cross-cultural educational planning.⁶⁸

Purpose of the Study

Understanding Ghana's education today must stem from a comprehensive historical overview of formal education from the lenses of British colonial policy and curriculum for the Gold Coast colony. The focus of the research is from 1919 to 1927. The study advances the educational policies/model characterizing British education in Gold Coast-Ghana, and its affordances for the colonizer and constraints on the the colonized. This is climaxed by the impact such policies/model made on educational and socio-economic development of Ghana. This study aims to promote the relevance of historical research in educational policy and curriculum formulation. Understanding the fundamentals of such policies and curriculum about education in Ghana is necessary in order to make informed decisions toward reforms geared toward human resource development and nation building.

Research Questions

The research topic for the study is "Western formal education in Gold Coast – Ghana: An overview of British Colonial policy and curriculum from 1919 to 1927." The study addresses the following research questions:

1. What educational model characterized British education in Gold Coast from 1919-1927?
2. What were the affordances and constraints of the educational policies/model for the colonizers and the colonized from 1919-1927?

⁶⁸ Ibid., James Clatworthy 1965.

3. How did these policies/model impact education and socio-economic development of Gold Coast-Ghana from 1919-1927?

Methodological Assumption

This study employs a historiography⁶⁹ methodological approach combining historical research in education methodology,⁷⁰ critical policy analysis⁷¹ and postcolonial theory to explore formal European type of education, educational policies, and school curriculum adopted during the colonial era. This research is aimed at giving a comprehensive overview of western-type education in the Gold Coast and analysis of British colonial educational policies and curriculum from 1919 to 1927. Findings from the research also helped the researcher to make a critical interpretation and analysis of the implications of such colonial policies and curriculum on the colonized.

Explanation and description in historical research in education allow for studying the past through an analysis of documents and the reconstruction of what happened. The study describes and examines the past events to understand the present. For both explanation and description,

⁶⁹ It is the careful study of historical writing and the ways in which historians interpret the past through various theoretical lenses and methodologies. Kincheloe, J. Educational historiographical meta-analysis: Rethinking methodology in the 1990s. *Qualitative studies in Education*, no. 3 (1991).

⁷⁰ The methodology has been used by many scholars: Bernard Mehl, "History of Education" in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 31, no. 1 (1961), 7-19; Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education History and the Social Science* (New York: Routledge; Falmer, 2004); James Mahoney, "Comparative-Historical Methodology" in *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 30 (2004), 81-101; Joel Spring, *The American School: 1642 2004* (6th ed.), (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005); H. G. Good, "Historical Research in Education" in *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1930), 39-47; Linda S. Levstik, *Researching History Education: Theory, Method, and Context*, (Routledge, 2008); Morris R. Buckingham, "The Challenge of Historical Materials" in *The American Archivist*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (1941), 91-116; Peter Seixas, *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, (University of Toronto Press, 2006); William C. Burges, 'History of Education' in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 37, no. 1 (1967), 21-33; William Richardson and Gary McCulloch, *Historical Research in Education Setting* (Open University Press, 2000).

⁷¹ M. A., Khalifa, R. M. O., T., Douglas, and T. V. Chambers, "White gazes of Black Detroit: Milliken v. Bradley I, Postcolonial Theory, and Persistent Inequalities," *Teachers College Record* 118, no. 3 (2016). This refers to a form of education policy studies where the focus is upon exposing inconsistencies between what policy says and what policy does, particularly in terms of power relationships in society. The focus is often upon exploring how marginalized groups come to be marginalized through policy and how existing unequal distributions of wealth and capital economics, cultural and social can be maintained through policy.

“interpretation is central to the process.”⁷² They allow understanding the present and getting ahead of possible future effects in the educational system. The study uses the following methods: developing research questions, developing an inventory of primary and secondary sources (archives, libraries, papers, etc.), and classifying validity and reliability of data, as well as analysis and synthesis of data collected. The interpretation of primary and secondary sources confirms their genuineness and authenticity.⁷³

Critical Policy Analysis refers to a form of education policy studies where the focus is upon exposing inconsistencies between what policy says and what policy does, particularly in terms of power relationship in society.⁷⁴ The focus is often upon exploring how marginalized groups come to be marginalized through policy and how existing unequal distributions of wealth and capital economics, cultural, and social can be maintained through policy.

Through the lens of Postcolonial Theory for interpretation and analysis in concert with Critical Policy Analysis, this study leads to a comprehensive understanding of education during colonial times in Gold-Coast Ghana. Through a review of literature, archival research, and by infusing a postcolonial and critical policy analysis perspective,⁷⁵ the study identifies educational policies adopted by the colonizer, the elements contained in such policies, and how these were implemented in the school curriculum. It also looks at the policy implications on the colonized.

⁷² M. Mark, “Qualitative Aspects of Historical Research,” *Bulletin of Council for Research in Musical Education*, Vol. 130 (1996), 39.

⁷³ Genuineness means the document is not forged. This process involves internal criticism, in the other words, it is the evaluation of the worth of the evidence, while authenticity means the document provides a truthful recording of the study, which involves external criticism. See, Leo Bartlett, “The Dialectic between Theory and Method in Critical Interpretive Research,” *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 17, no. 1 (1991), 19-33 and Leo S. Shulman, “Reconstruction of Educational Research” in *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 40, no. 3 (Jun., 1970), 371-396.

⁷⁴ S., Diem Young, M. D., Welton, A. D., Mansfield, K. C., & Lee, P.-L. “The intellectual landscape of critical policy analysis,” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 27, no. 9 (2014), 1068-1090.

⁷⁵ Lyn Carter, “Thinking Differently About Cultural Diversity: Using Postcolonial Theory to (Re) read Science Education,” *Science Education* Vol. 88, no. 6 (2004), 819-836; Ilana Kapoor, “Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency Versus Postcolonial Theory,” *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 23, no. 4 (2002), 647-664.

Definition of Terms

Archival research is a type of research that seeks evidences and direct proof related to events and artifacts. It includes location, evaluation, interpretation, and analysis of sources found in original archives and internet collections.⁷⁶

Brigadier-General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the Gold Coast. There he energetically undertook works of development and extension of railways, and created the deep-water harbor of Takoradi superseding the use of surf-boats for handling traffic. In 1923 he commissioned the construction of Korle-Bu Hospital in Accra, pictured in Figure 1.22, the finest and most modern institution of its kind in colonial Africa at the time. Toward the close of his life, he wrote: “My practical experience . . . during the last twenty-seven years has convinced me that what individuals have achieved, in spite of ill-selected systems of education, can be achieved by the race generally, provided we alter our educational methods”⁷⁷

Curriculum is a term used with several meanings and a number of different definitions of it have been offered.⁷⁸ Before 1918, courses offered in learning institutions were only known as subjects hence the term curriculum had not been coined until Franklin Bobbitt after working on a number of courses and after studying the social, economic, and political changes which came with World War I, coined the term curriculum to mean “the series of consciously directed training experiences that the school use for completing and perfecting the unfoldment.”⁷⁹ The

⁷⁶ Laura Schmidt, *Using Archives: A Guide of Effective Research*, Society of American Archives, 2011; and Glen H. Elder, Jr, Eliza K. Pavalko and Elizabeth C. Clipp, *Working with Archival Data*, (SAGE, 2013).

⁷⁷ G. Guggisberg and A. G. Fraser, *The Future of the Negro* (London, 1929)

⁷⁸ The word curriculum itself is used in many different contexts, by principals in schools, by teachers, by curriculum writers in education systems, and increasingly by politicians. It can mean different things in each of these contexts. Overall, in order to achieve the objectives of education, an instrument that serves as a vehicle of operation is required, that instrument is the curriculum.

⁷⁹ F., Bobbitt, “The curriculum” (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 42.

term curriculum originates from Latin, which means “a running, race, lap around the track or course.”⁸⁰ Franklins Bobbitt’s definition is adopted for the purposes of this research.

Critical Policy Analysis refers to a form of education policy studies where the focus is upon exposing inconsistencies between what policy says and what policy does, particularly in terms of power relationship in society.⁸¹ This focus is often upon exploring how marginalized groups come to be marginalized through policy and how existing unequal distributions of wealth and capital economics, cultural, and social status can be maintained through policy. Even though critical policy analysis is key to critical discourse analysis, its emphasis is upon “the cultural and historical acts of meaning making.” This study thus focuses on critical policy analysis⁸² only.

Education policy represents the principles and government policy-making in the educational sphere, as well as the collection of laws and rules that govern the operation of education systems.⁸³ These plans and underlying principles for educating students have been a significant part of British Colonial administration in the Gold Coast.

Ghana was/is the name adopted at independence for the Gold Coast. A name after the medieval Ghana Empire of West Africa of 4th – 13th century, whose actual name was Wagadugu, but had Ghana as the title of the kings who ruled the kingdom. Research asserts, the quality characteristics of leadership in Medieval Ghana was appealing to the Gold Coast independent fighters lead by Osagefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, hence the adoption of the name at Independence. Geographically, the old Ghana Empire is 500 miles north of the present Ghana and occupied the area between Rivers Senegal and Niger. Few inhabitants of present Ghana had ancestors link with medieval Ghana. The country is the first African nation to the

⁸⁰ Ibid., Bobbitt 1918.

⁸¹ S., Diem, et al “The intellectual landscape of critical policy analysis,” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 27, no. 9 (2014), 1068-1090.

⁸² R., Rogers, et al “Critical discourse analysis in education: A review of the literature,” *Review of Educational Research* 75, no.3 (2005), 365.

⁸³ <https://www.definitions.net/definition/education+policy>

south of the Sahara to gain political independence from colonial rule in March 6, 1957.⁸⁴ This former British colony of 92,000 square miles about 239,460 square kilometers shares boundaries with three French-speaking nations: the Côte d'Ivoire (720 km) to the west, Burkina Faso (602 km) to the north, and Togo (1,098 km) to the east, pictured in Figure 1.20. The Gulf of Guinea of the Atlantic Ocean is to the south of the country. In absolute terms its southernmost coast at Cape Three Point is 4° 30' north of the equator. From here, the country extends inland for some 670 kilometers to about 11° north, the distance across the widest part, between longitude 1° 12' east and longitude 3° 15' west, measures about 560 kilometers. The Greenwich Meridian, which passes through London also transverses to the eastern part of Ghana at Tema.⁸⁵ Red, Yellow, and Green with the Black Star in the middle are her national colors, as shown in Figure 1.21.⁸⁶

Gold Coast was the name for Ghana before independence in March 6, 1957. Gold Coast is the name given to the area by the first European settlers, the Portuguese sailors, who arrived on the coast in 1471. Anomansa, which was the original name of the area, later became known as Elmina among the Portuguese and Edina among the indigenous people. Elmina comes from the Portuguese word “La Mina,” which means “The Mines”—a name given to the town because of the abundance of gold. The quantities of gold found along the coast as exploration continued earned the nation the name Gold Coast. This became generally accepted by subsequent European

⁸⁴ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia, “Kwame Nkrumah,” Encyclopedia Britannica, September 29, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Kwame-Nkrumah>. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah spearheaded the Gold Coast independence movement and its transformation into modern-day Ghana. Born in September 1909 in Nkroful, Gold Coast, he led the drive for independence from Britain and headed the country from independence in 1957 until he was overthrown by a coup in 1966. He died April 27, 1972 in Bucharest, Romania.

⁸⁵ <https://sites.google.com/site/ghanaplacenames/places-in-perspective/on-the-line>

⁸⁶ <https://www.edarabia.com/ghana/flag/> :The flag of Ghana consists of the Pan African tricolors red, yellow, green with a black five-pointed star at the center. This flag is a symbol of the country’s sovereignty as well as the resilience of its people. It was hoisted on March 6th, 1957 and symbolizes the new beginning for the people as well as the resilience of its people. The flag was designed in 1957 by the late Theodosia Okoh and was adopted within the same year when Ghana attained its independence

settlers, and was adopted by the English colonizers who ruled the sub-Saharan nation until independence.⁸⁷

Historical research is the process of systematically examining past events or combinations of events to arrive at an account of what happened in the past;⁸⁸ It comprises the guidelines by which researchers use sources and evidence to write histories from past events.

Historiography is the careful study of historical writing and the ways in which historians interpret the past through various theoretical lenses and methodologies. This methodology exposes the frames and parameters of historical writings in order to further one's understanding of the past.⁸⁹

Indigenous refers to people, black individuals, and their descendants. The term is associated with illiteracy and non-assimilation due to not having the individual and social habits necessary for amalgamation.⁹⁰

Native is a key term in the nineteenth-century British colonial administration vocabulary. This word has to do with the identification of a person with a place by birth, by residence or by citizenship. This word was used to designate the race of indigenous subjects and is one which offers a clue to the way in which colonial rhetoric is domesticated in specific settings at the same time the colonizing power eschews it in the process of divesting itself of its colonies.⁹¹ With this perspective in mind, the Natives of then Gold Coast and Ghana are Gold Coasters and Ghanaians respectively.⁹²

⁸⁷ <https://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/goldcoast.htm>

⁸⁸ Burke Johnson and Larry B. Christensen, *Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Approaches* (4th ed). Sage Publications, (2021), 411.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Kincheloe 1991.

⁹⁰ Cá, Lourenço Ocuni, "Pertraining to School Culture and the Colonial People: The Question of the Assimilated Once in the African Countries of Portuguese Official Language (PALOP)," *ETD, Campinas, Vol. 3*, no. 1 (2011), 215. See also, Ibid., Pedro F. M. Bondo 2015.

⁹¹ Susan Fitzmaurice, "When natives became Africans: A historical sociolinguistic study of semantic change in colonial discourse" *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 3, no. 1 (2017), 1-36.

⁹² The name Gold Coast and Ghana would be used interchangeably to refer to same country.

Postcolonial theory is the body of thought primarily concerned with accounting for the political, aesthetic, economic, historical, and social impact of European colonial rule around the world in the 18th through the 20th century. Even though Postcolonial theory takes many different shapes and interventions, all share the fundamental claim: that the world we inhabit is impossible to understand apart in relationship to the history of imperialism and colonial rule. This means that, it is impossible to conceive of “European philosophy,” “European literature,” or “European history” as existing in the absence of Europe’s colonial encounters and oppression around the world. It also suggests that colonized world stands at the forgotten center of global modernity.⁹³

Statement of the Significance of the Study

Very little is known about African educational history as the field of study is lacking significant work for various academic and traditional reasons.⁹⁴ Even though all African countries have gained independence from colonial rule, the majority still have strong ties with their colonizers and have been unable to break such proclivity for self-support and reliance.⁹⁵ Prolific African writers and Postcolonial activists’ such as Chinua Achebe in his book, *Things Fall Apart*, called on Africans to create their own educational system, policies, and curriculum to meet their national needs, which is to form and establish their human resource capacity for national development.⁹⁶

⁹³ <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780190221911/obo-9780190221911-0069.xml>

⁹⁴ Barbara A. Yates, “Educational Policy and Practices in Tropical Africa: A General Bibliography” in *Comparative Educational Review*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (1964), 215-228. Due to the oral tradition and storytelling nature of telling African history, most of this undocumented rich information gets distorted as it is passed on from a generation to the other. The few which are successfully documented from the oral tradition lack accuracy with dates, and time frames because most of the people who narrate such stories and histories recall the date of happening to major natural occurrences or disasters. Example: when an earthquake occurred, when a big old tree was cut down, when a prominent figure was in the lime light etc.

⁹⁵ This has made it very difficult for such countries to establish themselves as major players in world politics and the global economy in spite of the abundance of natural resources such as oil, gold, diamond, fertile land, waterbodies, and cocoa.

⁹⁶ Scholars such as Joseph Ki-Zerbo, G Mokhtar, M. El. Fasi and I. Hrbek, Djibril Tamsir Niane, Bethwell A. Ogot, Ali Al’ami Mazrui and Christophe Wondji were called to write in 1991 from new perspectives, the eight chapters of the *General History of Africa*. It is worth mentioning that Joseph Ki-Zerbo is one of the first African historians to

The need for research in the area of educational policy in general has been suggested by several sources⁹⁷ because of its association with human resource and national development. Human resources developed through the educational system depends on the formulated educational policy expanding to maximize the capacity of the educational system to educate the human resource supply. The international institute for education planning for example, met during the summer of 1964 to discuss research needs in educational planning for countries with colonial education experience.⁹⁸ One of their recommendations was studies should be made of the “administration and implementation,”⁹⁹ and should involve study of countries with the colonial educational planning experience to examine their procedures and institutional framework for the formulation of educational policy. Having been a British Colony, the need for research in this field in Ghana was also suggested by Gordon C. Ruscoe in *Dysfunctionality in Jamaican Education*,¹⁰⁰ and implied by E. Christian Anderson in *The Development of Government Policy for Education in Sierra Leone 1882 to 1961*.¹⁰¹ In both studies, it is apparent evaluations or discussions on educational policy in former British colonial territories cannot be completely meaningful without referring to the British colonial education policy, or the nature of its formulation and implementation. Research has indicated that Great Britain and her colonial empire offer a good case for the formulation of educational policy because they are unique among the nations of the world which pioneered in the field of cross-cultural educational

rewrite the history of Africa. See *History of Black Africans* (Paris: Hatier, 1972). Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (Anchor Publisher, 1994) is another piece of African literature for Postcolonial studies.

⁹⁷ The international Institute for Educational Planning, for example, has been one of the major advocates in educational policy planning and formulation

⁹⁸ Educational planning: A directory of training and research institution, UNESCO IIEP Paris: UNESCO (IIEP, 1964), 174.

⁹⁹ Guy Benveniste, “Major Research Needs in Educational Planning”, *International Institute for Educational Planning*, (Bellagio, Italy, 1964), 28. <http://www.iiep.unesco.org/en>

¹⁰⁰ Gordon C. Ruscoe, “Dysfunctionality in Jamaican Education” *University of Michigan School of Education*, (Ann Arbor: 1963), 121.

¹⁰¹ E. Christian Anderson, “The Development of Government Policy for Education in Sierra Leone” *Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation*, (University of Michigan, 1964), 235.

planning.¹⁰² This research aims to contribute to the call of analyzing colonial educational policy and curriculum to reconceptualize the past and present events and initiate a paradigm shift following Jacques Derrida, M. Omolewa, and Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong’o’s traditions.¹⁰³ Results from this study would serve as elements for educational policy formulation and curriculum development for governments, policy makers, educators, administrators, teachers, and students by helping them to appreciate, understand, and critically analyze how past events have shaped the present educational policies and curriculum.¹⁰⁴ The history of colonial educational policies and curriculum developments critically analyzed in respect to the period when the Gold Coast had a proliferation in educational development, a kind which was never experienced in the then British Empire, stakeholders are afforded the opportunity to know the past mistakes and predict future problems with the view to making the necessary changes for an improved educational system. I couldn’t agree more with Pedro when he affirmed “I have found that the main inspiration for challenging the improvement of the educational system is the speech delivered by the famous historian, Joseph Ki-Zerbo: That “The Africa which the world needs is a continent able to stand up, to walk on its own feet [...] it is an African conscious of its own past and able to keep on reinvesting this past into its present and future.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Ibid., James F., Clatworthy, “The Formulation of British Colonial Education”, 1929-1961, U.S. *Department of Health, Education, and Welfare*. (Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1965).

¹⁰³ Jacques Derrida, *L’Ecriture et la Différence* (Editions du, 1978); M. Owolewa, “Transitional African Modes of Education: Their Relevance in the Modern World. *International Review of Education*, Vol. 53, no. 5/6 (2007), 594-612; Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong’o, *Decolonizing the Mind* (Heinemann, 1986).

¹⁰⁴ One of the articles that had influenced African historians of education is entitled, “Revisionism and Study of the History of Education” in *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 4, no. 4 (Dec. 1964), 209-223, written by William W. Brickman. From him, we learn that the study of educational systems through history of education as a branch of history represents a challenge to deal with the development of practices, materials, and administration issues in the schools.

¹⁰⁵ Pedro F. M. Bondo, The History of Angolan Education 1930-1980: The convergence of Colonialism, Religion, and Decree,” *PhD Dissertation* (Kansas State University, 2015) from Ki-Zerbo, J. *Histoire de l’Afrique noire. History of Black Africa* (Paris, Editions Hatier, 1978)

Joseph Ki-Zerbo is undeniably one of the contemporary African thinkers who has marked their epoch. He is a classical intellectual molded by the French school and university system during the colonial period who experienced in mind, body, and intellect the agonies of the various abuses that colonization—its rationale, objectives and methods—inflicted upon the African, especially Black African, peoples after the turn of the century and even before. His keen awareness of his origins, his commitment to his country and people, his gratitude to his continent and the

Limitations

The research examines British Colonial educational policies and curriculum from 1919 to 1927. Even though some work has been done on colonial education of the Gold Coast in general, very little cognizance has been given to educational policies introduced and school curriculum implemented in the western formal education setting. This is why the international institute for educational planning, for example, met during the summer of 1964 to discuss research needs in this specific area.¹⁰⁶

The unavailability of written documents of western-type education in Gold Coast by Natives who experienced British colonial education is the major limitation to this study. Due to this, I was not able to gather eye witness experience and perspective on the topic. What are had were those mostly from same pioneers of the education system. A few writes ups on this subject came many years after colonial rule and were written from a third person perspective.¹⁰⁷

The researcher's location during the study also placed some impediments on finding some original documents, crafts, and artifacts. Conducting this research from United States of America (USA) during the Corona Virus (COVID 19) pandemic, when lots of restrictions have been placed on travels coupled with restricted accessibility to document housing facilities made it difficult for the researcher to travel to Ghana for data from the Public Records and Archives Administration of Ghana (PRAAG) and the National Museum of Ghana. Even though some

strong, healthy spirit of revolt shouldering within him combined to make him a leading activist in the early days of the national and African liberation struggles—though this constant activism was nurtured by the knowledge he had acquired in the colonial education system. the epistemological benchmarks of Professor Ki-Zerbo's thought are self-confidence based on 'self-knowledge', 'thinking by oneself for oneself', a sound understanding of otherness, critical reference to the past and the irreplaceable importance of research based on popular African wisdom. It is, therefore, not difficult to see why he ascribes so much importance to education, in the full sense of the term, armed as he is with his conviction that 'the key factors of African promotion' are 'education and training' and 'African unity' (Ki-Zerbo, 1978), 632.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., UNESCO IIEP 1964: 174.

¹⁰⁷ These persons either gathered information from eye witnesses who had some experience and/or were told of such experience.

information were accessible on the housing facility's website, they were limited in content and emails requesting for additional information proved futile.¹⁰⁸

Owing to the span of the research study thus, from 1919 to 1927, some information from personal papers, diaries, images, published writings, newspaper accounts, and government were not accessible from the primary source while others which were available had lost pages. In relation to government documents for example, the political transition from being colonized to an independent nation did not help to maintain most of the surviving historical school archive especially by the colony. As a matter of fact, many private historical archives have been held by missionaries abroad and the few materials stored in the local religious archives may not be accessible to the public. Due to this, fewer articles and publications have been available from a handful of known historical research scholars¹⁰⁹ who have had access to some of these original documents, and even at a later date from the call of decolonizing Ghanaian education.

As with all research methods, historical educational research also has its own limitations in general.¹¹⁰ Significant are the gaps in primary sources and difficulty of evaluation in terms of authenticity and validity.¹¹¹ These challenges take away some valuable materials and information which can affect the studies to some extent.

¹⁰⁸ I guess this was due to the limited work force at the facility to ensure social distancing coupled with volumes of emails. Family members and friends in Ghana who followed up on my behalf could not get access into the facility due to restrictions.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., J. H. Neketia, (1953), is an example of such phenomenal historians.

¹¹⁰ Thomas H. Briggs, "Limitations and Proposals: Research in Education," *The Phi Delta Kappa*, Vol. 46, no. 3 (1964), 99-103. See also Eileen Abeles and Xan Lin, "Digital Library Education Lab," *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science* Vol. 51, no. 2 (2010), 120-124.

¹¹¹ This is seen in the transition from internal to external criticism which cannot be distinguished clearly as argued by G. H. Good in his "Historical Research in Education" in *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 9, no. 2 (1930), 39-47.

Research Perspectives/Assumptions, and Bias

Education has been a priority of successive governments since independence as it was on the agenda of the first government.¹¹² The supporting research indicates Ghana's educational system was regarded as one of the most highly developed and effective in West Africa before the 1980s.¹¹³ However, from the 1980s, it has been near collapse and viewed as dysfunctional in relation to the goals and aspirations of the country. This has been attributed to educational policy and curriculum borrowing, transfers, and adaptations immensely from England, her former colonial master.¹¹⁴ As I have indicated earlier, both studies by Gordon C. Ruscoe,¹¹⁵ and E. Christian Anderson¹¹⁶ emphasize that the evaluations or discussions on educational policy in former British colonial territories cannot be completely meaningful without referring to British colonial education policy, or the nature of its formulation, and implementation.

Therefore, perspectives on British colonial education policy and curriculum will challenge the research in two aspects. Firstly, from a methodological perspective an historical overview of western formal educational system in relation to colonial educational policy and curriculum from 1919 to 1927 will give a revision of past events and their meaning will better contribute to understanding the foundations of the Ghanaian educational system, policy formulation, and curriculum development patterns. Secondly, it will allow analyzing why the

¹¹² At independence Ghana had drawn plans of how education was going to effectively support the efforts to become a prosperous economy. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's governments had visions which had education at the center. Nkrumah's development of education was to achieve three goals: first, it was to produce a scientifically literate population. Secondly, for tackling mainly the environmental causes of low productivity; and thirdly for producing knowledge to harness Ghana's economic growth". Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was noted to be determined to initiate educational policies that were useful for the growth of the economy. Nkrumah also paid particular attention to technical education with the belief that technical education was essential to Ghana's route for accelerating technological and economic growth. Apprenticeship schemes with industries, technical education was linked to labor market requirements and outstanding students were encouraged to pursue their education to university level.

¹¹³ Samuel Adu-Gyamfi, et.al, "Educational Reforms in Ghana: Past and Present," *Journal of Education and Human Development*, Vol. 5 No. 3 (2016), 158-172.

¹¹⁴ Ghana – "50 Years of Educational Progress and Challenge," *Parliament Offices*, (Westminster: London, 2007), 16.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., Ruscoe 1963 :121.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., Anderson 1964: 235.

colonizer adopted such policies and school curriculum from a critical and postcolonial perspective¹¹⁷ and establish the impact of such an educational system on the colonized. Thus, this colonial education research is consequential in understanding the reasons of “how we got where we are”¹¹⁸ because enough evidence has shown during African colonization, Western culture, as well as colonial education was not used to promote African culture and her human resource development.¹¹⁹

It is worth admitting that researchers generally enter the field with some prior knowledge, preconceived ideas, and misconceptions¹²⁰ and critical reflection emphasizes the need for the researcher to acknowledge their own position from the start to the end of the study.¹²¹ As a professional teacher of seven years in the high school, with key interest in educational policy, reforms, curriculum development, and teacher education, it is worth considering that my own beliefs, experiences, and research orientation might influence the choice of research questions. Having acknowledged this, I tried not to allow my own perceptions to control the most critical parts of the study such as data collection, analysis, and reporting because these sections require a high sense of objectivity.

I must admit also, my passion and position for this topic might direct my choice for some primary and secondary sources including books, articles, new papers, and images of interest. These choices are only to ensure that the true picture and an accurate detail of events during colonial education is covered from a critical policy analysis and postcolonial perspective.

¹¹⁷ This will help readers to understand the hidden agendas about western formal education in the colonial period.

¹¹⁸ Tamara Kern Hareven, “Family Time and Historical Time,” *Daedalus* Vol. 160, no. 2 (1977), 57.

¹¹⁹ World Development Indicators database (2013). <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/WDI-2013-ebook.pdf>

¹²⁰ L., Cohen, L., Manion, and Morrison, *Research methods in education (5th Edition)* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

¹²¹ Coghlan Davi and Mary Brydon-Miller, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Action Research*, 2 vols (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2014). doi: 10.4135/9781446294406.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 presents the overview, introduction, background, and historical context of the topic of this research, including statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, research questions, along with the methodology assumptions, definition of terms, and limitations. The significance of the study and its perspectives/assumption and bias are presented.

Chapter 2 first provides a brief background for the literature review. This is followed by a review of the literature for Critical Policy Analysis and Postcolonial Theory and research literature related to my topic. Chapter 3 details the main research method as well as a discussion about primary sources, with archival, and secondary sources.

The findings of the study are presented in Chapter 4 consistent with the research questions. A table summarizing the research findings was presented and images speaking for the finding were shown. In Chapter 5, interpretation, analysis, and discussions of the key finding that emerged from the study and how they are situated in literature were delved into.

Chapter 6 is conclusion; it foregrounds the key arguments in all the chapters. And also details contribution to knowledge, and ends with policy recommendation.



Figure 1.1. Arrival of Europeans at the Gold Coast (cdn.britannica.com)



Figure 1.2. Berlin Conference for the partition of Africa
(www.aljazeera.com/wpcontent/uploads/2019)

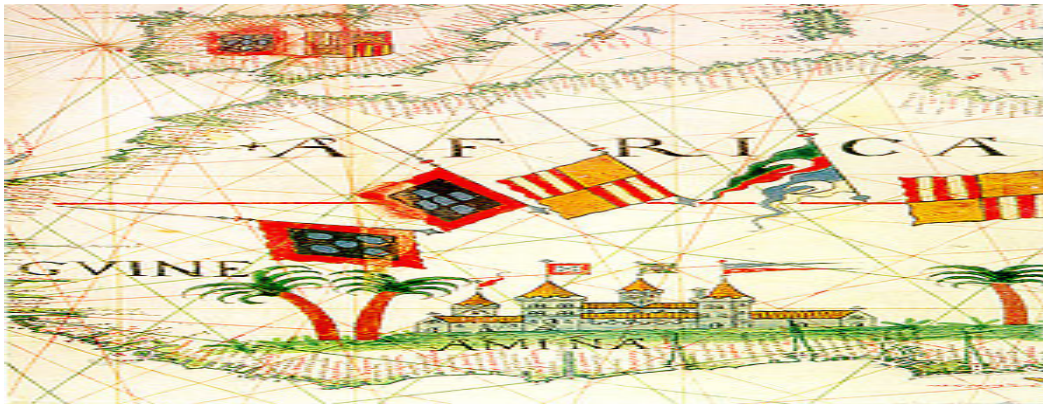


Figure 1.3. [Amina, the land of Gold](http://tracingafricanroots.files.wordpress.com) (tracingafricanroots.files.wordpress.com)



Figure 1.4. Gold Coast independent freedom fighters (A.K.A Big Six) (cdn.ghanaweb.com)



Figure 1.5. Osagefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, leader of the big six (cdn.modernghana.com)

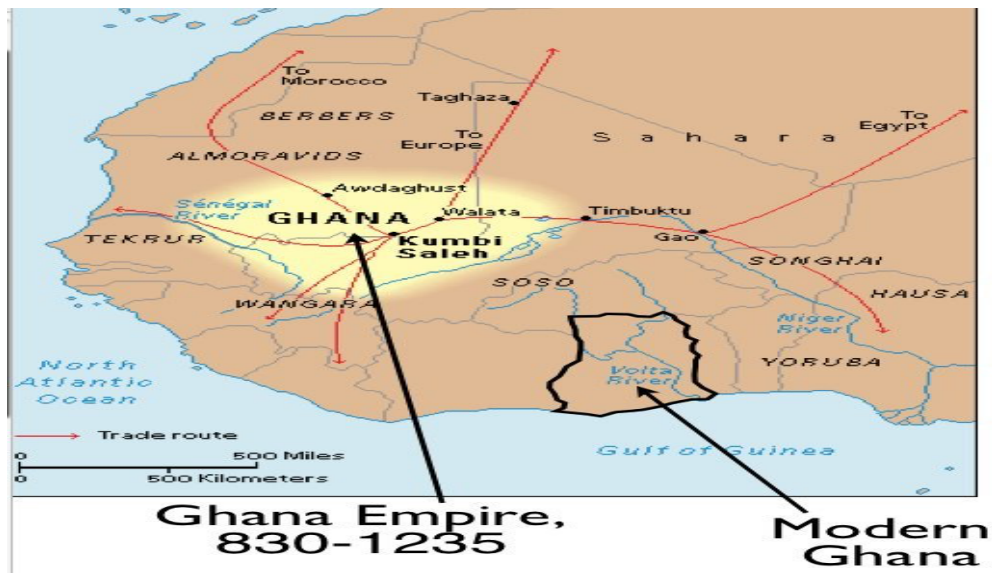


Figure 1.6. Approximate locations of Old Ghana Empire and Modern Ghana (janakesho1.files.wordpress.com/2016)

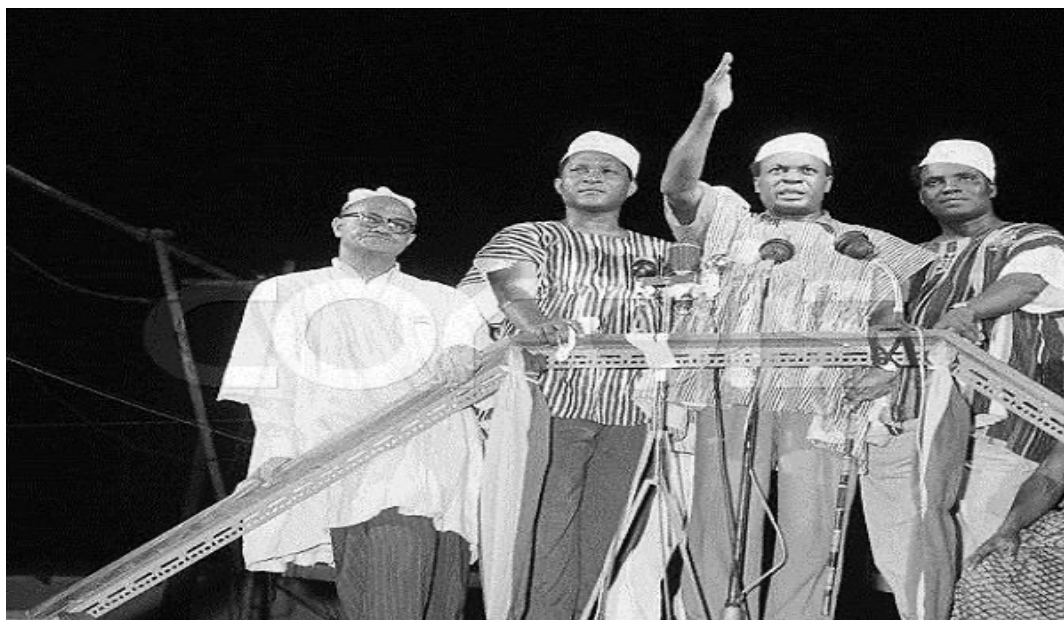


Figure 1.7. Independence declaration by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (cdn.ghanaguardian.com)



Figure 1.8. Story time in an African home/community (ghlyfe.files.wordpress.com)



Figure 1.9. Girls at puberty age undergoing training from assigned elderly women into womanhood (www.imaginative.nl)



Figure 1.10. Bragro puberty rite among the Akan ethnic group ([instagram.flwo4-1.fna.fbcdn.net](https://www.instagram.com/flwo4-1.fna.fbcdn.net))



Figure 1.11. Father teaching son Kente weaving as a family business (ghana.for91days.com)



Figure 1.12. Community transfer of fishing skills (media.gettyimages.com)



Figure 1.13. European men with their native wives and their mulatto children (www.beyondblackwhite.com)

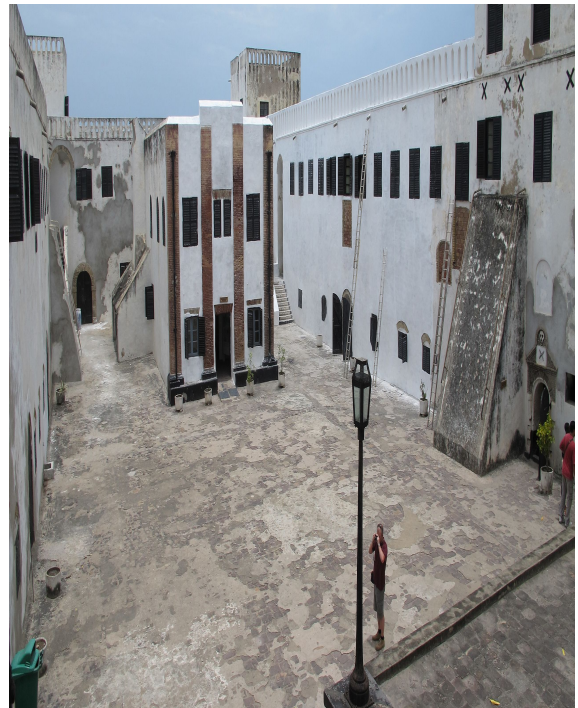


Figure 1.14. First Castle school in Elmina Castle (www.castles.nl)



Figure 1.15. Christiansburg Castle (upload.wikimedia.org)

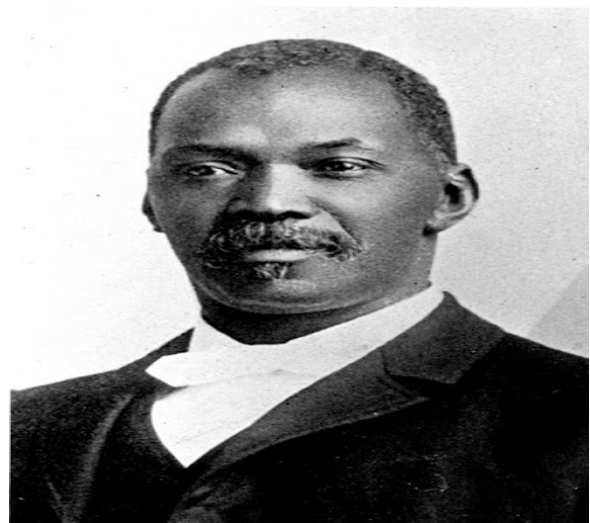


Figure 1.16. Rev. Philip Quacoe (lh3.googleusercontent.com)

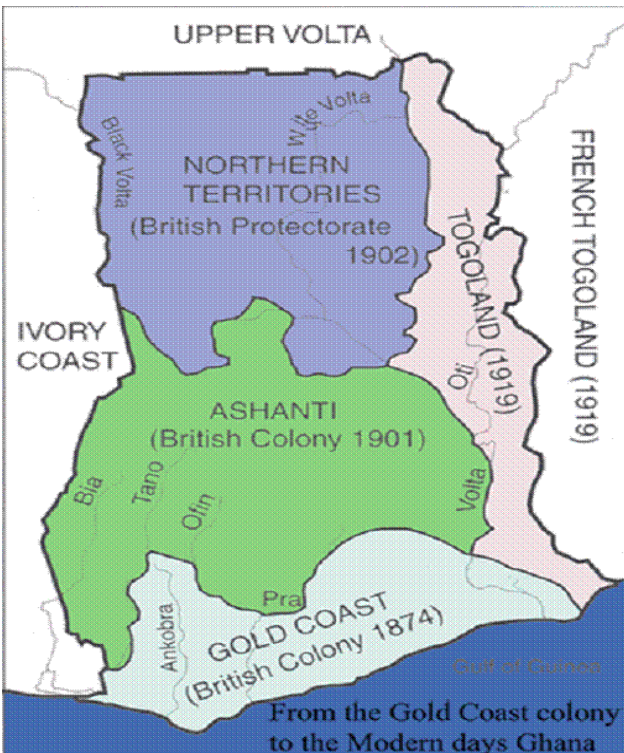


Figure 1.17. Map of Gold Coast after becoming a full British territory
(exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu)



Figure 1.18. First Girls' school in Gold Coast called Aburi Girls
(<https://ghanaianmuseum.com>)



Figure 1.19. National Flag of Ghana
(<https://upload.wikimedia.org>)

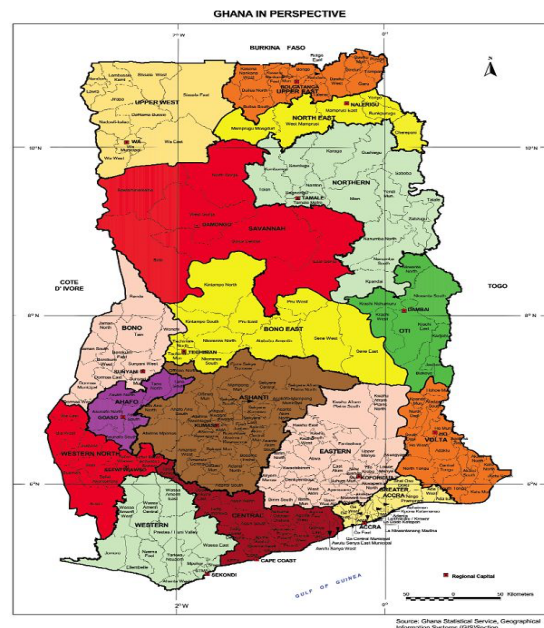


Figure 1.20. Map of Ghana showing 16 regions and their capitals
(www.graphic.com.gh)



Figure 1.21: Status of Sir. Fredrick Guggisberg at Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital
(upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a8/Gordon_Guggisberg_Statue_Korle_Bu_2007.jpg)

Chapter 2 - Review of the Literature

Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the relevant literature for this historical research of the educational policies and curriculum adopted and implemented by the British from 1919 to 1927. The research period is of interest to this study because it was during these years under the administration of Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg that the Gold Coast experienced a leap in education, a kind uncommon to all the colonies under the then empire.¹²²

First the background to the literature is given. Then the theoretical framework guiding the study is introduced to expand the literature on the research topic by giving an overview of Critical Policy Analysis (CPT) and Postcolonial Theory (PCT). This overview includes the historical background and the framework's rising representation in education to the Africa context.

Although there are some research works on British colonial education in then Gold Coast in general,¹²³ little has been done specifically on analysis of the educational policies and school curriculum for the period of this research interest. As a result, perspective of the related literature would be generally looked at from British colonial education in Africa, incorporating the overarching themes and where appropriate, specific examples of nations would be connected.

Background of the Literature

To better understand British educational policy in Gold Coast -Ghana, a background which summarizes the idea birthing the need for a policy must be articulated and an overview of

¹²² Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, "The keystone; education is the keystone of progress: mix the materials badly, omit the most important, and the arch will collapse; omit character-training from education and progress will stop" (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 1924).

¹²³ Ibis., James Clatworthy 1969: 1. Also: Samuel Adu-Gyamfi et.al 2016: 158-172; Ibid., Moumouni Abdou 1986; Ibid., H. O. A., McWilliam & M. A Kwamena-Poh 1975; Ibid., C. K. Graham 1971.

the policy-making body must be understood. This is important because it set the underlying factors for policy formulation and gives a better picture of the policy-making body, who made a value judgment on what is considered “educational needs” of the Gold Coast colony and what “educational development” should be done in the colony.

The concern about education and its relationship to national economic development will continue for some time. The only certain factor is that education is increasingly called upon to supply the institutions for the development of human resources when society expands numerically and economically.¹²⁴ How these human resources are developed through the educational system depends on the formulation of educational policy which attempts to expand and maximize the capacities of the system.

Great Britain and her colonial empire offer a good case study for the formulation of educational policy. Uniquely among the nations of the world, Great Britain pioneered in the field of cross-cultural educational planning and established an Advisory Committee¹²⁵ to advise the secretary of state for the colonies on educational matters for, or individual colonies.

The definition of educational needs is ambiguous. However, for the purposes of this study it is defined as the educational objectives and institutions which were considered essential for the educational development of a given colony.¹²⁶ The degree of the educational needs was evaluated by several channels which originated from within a given colony and consisted of colonial officials, missionary representatives, native councils, European settlers, and business interest. Therefore, the Advisory Committee was to assess the educational needs envisioned by the various intra-colonial interests, consider these in the light of existing educational experiences,

¹²⁴ Ibid., James Clatworthy 1969: 1.

¹²⁵ The work of this body has never been fully assessed, nor has a study been made which attempts to analyze the British method of formulating colonial education policy by the use of an Advisory Committee.

¹²⁶ Ibid., James Clatworthy 1969.

and then arrive at the statement which attempts to establish the guidelines for transforming these educational needs into policy.¹²⁷

Theoretical Framework

Brief Historical Background of Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) and Postcolonial Theory (PCT)

Traditionally, an analysis of policy occurs under a functionalist frame that seeks to explain human behavior in terms of social-cultural institutions and the functions performed in a society, culture or community. As such, policy is accepted as a “given” while analysis is performed to determine the relationship of the policy and the particular group under examination. In other words, the development of policy is separated from the process of policy implementation.

Prior to the mid-1980s and as early as the 1960s, policy analysis focused on the effectiveness of social programs.¹²⁸ Overtime, an analysis of policy has evolved as a science without a precise definition and, yet, it has developed into a field of study that concerns itself with process analysis.¹²⁹ This is why little attention has been given to research framework and methodology in the educational policy literature and, as Ball has noted, the field of policy analysis has been dominated by commentary critique rather than empirical research.¹³⁰ It would appear that methodological questions about “data” are needed for analysis and how that material is collected have been less important in critical policy work than the theoretical frameworks which are used and the questions which are asked. Even though there is an extensive body of literature dealing with policy “design”, “evaluation” and “implementation studies” much of this

¹²⁷ Such need brings about educational development, which will be defined simply as the expansion of the educational system. Thus, educational development can be seen in the same light as educational needs

¹²⁸ D.W. Musick, *Policy analysis in medical education: A structured approach*. (1998).

¹²⁹ Ibid., Musick 1998.

¹³⁰ S. J. Ball, *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology* (Routledge, 1990), 9.

literature represents a managerialist, technicality, and an uncritical approach,¹³¹ although more critical literature has emerged in recent years.

Critical Policy Analysis (CPA)

CPA refers to a form of education policy studies where the focus is upon exposing inconsistencies between what policy says and what policy does, particularly in terms of power relationships in society.¹³² The focus is often upon exploring how marginalized groups come to be marginalized through policy and how existing unequal distributions of wealth and capital economics, cultural, and social standards can be maintained through policy. Critical policy analysis is key to critical discourse analysis in that its emphasis is upon “the cultural and historical acts of meaning making.”¹³³

CPA emerged as a major research field in the sociology of education in the late 1980s.¹³⁴ Influential journals include *Journal of Education Policy*, which was launched in 1986, *Educational Policy* launched in 1987, and *Globalization, Societies and Education*, launched in 2003. Its attraction for critical theorists was partly in reaction to the over-politicized New Sociology of Education (NSOE) and to postmodern relativism,¹³⁵ which provided a counter to the pessimism that resulted from the NSOE’s focus on the macro politics of the capitalist system as the cause of inter-generational inequalities in educational situation, that left many sociologists of education unable to use their theoretical analyses to fulfil “the accepted purpose of educational theory”; namely, to “determine what should be done in educational practice.”¹³⁶ One of the main

¹³¹ M. E., Hawkesworth, “Theoretical issues in Policy Analysis” (State University of New York Press, 1988).

¹³² Ibid., S. Diem, et al, (2014), 1068-1090.

¹³³ Rogers, R., Malancharuvil-Berkes, E., Mosley, M., Hui, D., & Joseph, G. O. G. “Critical discourse analysis in education: A review of the literature”. *Review of Educational Research*, 75(3), 365.

¹³⁴ J. Codd, “The Construction and Deconstruction of Educational Policy Documents,” *Journal of Educational Policy* 3, no. 3 (1988), 235-247

¹³⁵ Elizabeth Rata, “The three stages of critical policy methodology: An example from curriculum analysis,” *Policy Future in Education* 12, no. 3 (Routledge, 2014).

¹³⁶ C.S., Fischer, M., Hout, M.S., Jankowski, et al, *Inequality by Design* (Princeton University Press, 1996).

problems with the NSOE approach was the absence of a methodological link between what was happening at the global level with events at the national level and at the level of school practices. This was overcome by the way in which critical policy analysis conceptualizes the link between the global and the local in order to integrate theory and empirical studies.¹³⁷ Agreeing with Elizabeth Rata, I connect that for this research context, this link is between the colonial government (Britain) - the colonized (Gold Coast-Ghana) is the meeting point of the assumed European civilization, with economic forces on one hand and the implementation of policy in education practice on the other.

Critical Policy Analysis thus provides the point of entry into linking European civilization and the natives' traditional systems of practice. This was achieved by analyzing how the colonial government used such policies to regulate the natives and how this resulted in inequalities produced by such policies. Formal education at this point, I can say became the meeting point to indoctrinate natives for the imperial governments system as it also created workers for their economy. Given that western formal education was the way to create civilization in Gold Coast-Ghana, the study of its policy and school curriculum is particularly useful in examining how this realized the colonial government's objectives/philosophy and ideologies underlying such policies.

Like other fields of study, CPA has many scholars calling and describing it with different terminologies; Ozga for example has termed this field of inquiry in education policy as "policy sociology," which she described as "rooted in the social science tradition, historically informed

¹³⁷ Ibid., Elizabeth Rata 2014.

and drawing on qualitative technique.”¹³⁸ Grace, on the other hand referred to it as “policy scholarship,”¹³⁹ while American literature refers to it as “policy science,” a term first used by Laswell in 1949.¹⁴⁰ Troyna, however, rejects any arguments between policy sociology and other approaches using a social science perspective, basically he believes that it under-emphasizes feminist and anti-racist works and has failed to produce studies which have a “strategic edge.”¹⁴¹ Even though I agree to a large extent with Troyna’s assertion, I argue that this has been overcome by the way in which critical policy conceptualizes the link between the global and the local in order to integrate theory and empirical studies.

The shift to CPA involves the increasing use of empirical research into how education policy shapes practice, while at the same time retaining theoretical explanations of complex patterns of causation from a political economy approach. This combination of theoretical analysis and empirical research enables researchers to avoid the descent into propaganda that Roy Nash¹⁴² argued limited the effectiveness of NSOE with its tendency to use theory alone. At the same time, it maintains both the importance of theory that is central to the critical approach including critical theorists’ commitment to equality ideals, along with enabling researchers to directly address educational practice. As I have indicated earlier, CPA is akin to critical discourse analysis in that there is emphasis upon “the cultural and historical acts of meaning

¹³⁸ J. Ozga, “Studying education policy through the lives of the policy maker,” *An attempt to close the macro-micro gap*, in S. Walker and L. Barton (eds) *Changing Policies, Changing Teachers: New directions for schooling?* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987).

¹³⁹ G. Grace, *Critical policy scholarship: Reflections on the integrity of knowledge and research*, in G. Shacklock and J. Smyth, *Being Reflective in Critical Educational and Social Research*. (Falmer Press, 1998)

¹⁴⁰ H. D. Lasswell, *Power and Personality* (New York, 1948). Also see: P. deLeon, “Democracy and the policy sciences: Aspirations and operations,” *Policy Studies Journal* 22, (1994), 77. See also, R. Saranand, and V. Trafford, About this volume, in: R. Saran, and V. Trafford, (eds) *Research in Education Management and Policy: retrospect and prospect* (London, Falmer Press).

¹⁴¹ B. Troyna, “Critical social research and education policy,” *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 42 (1), 70, no. 84 (1994a), 81-82.

¹⁴² Ibid., Elizabeth Rata 2014.

making,¹⁴³ which in this sense all discourses, written, spoken, and otherwise enacted are analyzed as arenas of power and power struggles. Habermas,¹⁴⁴ as cited in Cohen et al.¹⁴⁵ states that the meaning of utterances can be viewed as either ‘the locutionary aspect – what is being said’ or ‘the perlocutionary content – what is being done or achieved through the utterance.’ This dichotomy is pertinent to the interpretation of the policy documents being analyzed here thus, colonial governments educational policies and curriculum from 1919 to 1927. I agree with Kevin Cahill¹⁴⁶ that any discourse analysis is in itself a discourse and as such critical reflexivity as an integral element of the research process is needed. As a result, all documents, even foundational legislation, are a product of social interaction in a contextualized place, space, and time and such documents as constructed and created at all times reflects the subjectivity of its author(s) as well as the multifarious cultural and political positions of a particular historical juncture.

CPA in Educational Policy Studies

Educational policy analysis draws from the broader field of policy analysis studies as well as from the traditions of educational research, political science, and public administration, each of which is strongly influenced by positivism and to a lesser degrees post-positivism.¹⁴⁷ The paradigm through which most policy studies operate involves timeworn assumptions, norms, and traditions, institutionalized, and accepted by most researchers as the appropriate “value-free” way to undertake educational policy research.¹⁴⁸ According to Levinson et al.¹⁴⁹ “in this

¹⁴³ R. Rogers, et al. Critical discourse analysis in education: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research* 75, no. 3 (2005) 365- 369.

¹⁴⁴ J. Habermas, “Towards a theory of communicative competence.” *Inquiry* 13, no. 19 (1970), 368.

¹⁴⁵ L., Cohen, L., Manion, and K. Morrison, *Research methods in education* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 389.

¹⁴⁶ K., Cahill and K. Hall, “Choosing schools: Explorations in post-primary school choice in an urban Irish working class community,” *Irish Educational Studies* 33, no. 4 (2014), 383-397.

¹⁴⁷ S. S. Nagel, *Contemporary public policy analysis* (Birmingham: The University of Alabama Press, 1984).

¹⁴⁸ C. Marshall, *Dismantling and reconstructing policy analysis*. In C. Marshall (Ed.), *Feminist critical policy analysis: A perspective from primary and secondary schooling* (London: The Falmer Press, 1997), 1–39.

¹⁴⁹ B. A. U., Levinson, M., Sutton, and T. Winstead, “Education policy as a practice of power: Theoretical tools, ethnographic methods, democratic options,” *Educational Policy* 7, no. 23 (2009), 67–795.

approach there is effectively no social theory of policy.” Indeed, the majority of educational policy analysts prefer linear processes that focus on clearly defined problems and measurable facts.¹⁵⁰

A narrow vision was not what the field’s founder, Harold Lasswell, had in mind for the policy studies field.¹⁵¹ Rather, Lasswell envisioned policy analysis as a means for exploring policy problems in all their complexity. His vision included constructing policy analysis as a multidisciplinary approach with an explicitly normative orientation.¹⁵² What some scholars are calling “critical policy analysis” comes closer to Laswell’s 50-year-old ideal of doing policy work while acknowledging context, group values, and the contestable nature of problem definition, research findings, and arguments for solutions.¹⁵³

Since the 1980s, a growing number of policy researchers have shifted from traditional approaches and used critical frameworks to interrogate both the beliefs and practices associated with traditional work as well as the policies, insights, and recommendations that result from such work.¹⁵⁴ For example, Ball¹⁵⁵ and Stone problematized the rational approach associated with traditional policy research, breaking new ground for critical policy scholars. Similarly, Rist¹⁵⁶ critiqued the traditional view of policy-making as a deliberate process, undertaken by a known and bounded set of actors, who use research and reason to ensure the best possible policy

¹⁵⁰ J. Blackmore, “Level playing field? Feminist observations on global/local articulations of the re-gendering and restructuring of educational work,” *International Review of Education* 43, (1997), 439–461.; Fischer, F. *Reframing public policy: Discursive politics and deliberative practice*. (New York, NY: 2003). Marshall, C. “Researching the margins: Feminist critical policy analysis,” *Educational Policy* 13, (1999). 59–76.; Rochefort, D. A., and Cobb, R. W. (Eds.). *The politics of problem definition: Shaping the policy agenda* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas 1994).

¹⁵¹ F. Fischer, *Reframing public policy: Discursive politics and deliberative practice* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁵² Ibid., Fischer 2003.

¹⁵³ Ibid., Blackmore 1997; Fischer 2003; Marshall, 1999; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Young, 1999.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., McDonnell 2009.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., Ball 1991 1993, 1994 and Stone 2002.

¹⁵⁶ R. Rist, “Influencing the policy process with qualitative research,” N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (CA: Sage, 1994), 545–557.

outcomes. Likewise, deLeon and Vogen-back¹⁵⁷ described the traditional analytic toolkit in policy research analysis as limiting, noting the tendency to rely on the same framework and approaches for all problems under investigation rather than choosing epistemologies and approaches that might be more appropriate for analyzing the problem in question.

Over this same period of time, education has risen to an issue of national importance in many countries. Across the globe, there has been tightening of control on students, educators, administrators, and the schooling process in general through national-level educational policies. Although one could argue that these two trends are completely unrelated, it is interesting that as power and control in education became increasingly consolidated, a growing number of educational policy scholars, dissatisfied with traditional frameworks, began using critical frameworks in their analyses.¹⁵⁸

When CPA is employed in educational policy studies, critical approaches tend to focus around four fundamental concerns. First, attention is often given to the difference between policy rhetoric and practices reality. According to Edelman, this usually involves an interrogation of the policy process while other scholarships focus on rhetorical devices and the symbolic nature of educational policy.¹⁵⁹ There are however other researchers in the field who are still concerned with the space between policy development and implementation.¹⁶⁰ The second concern focuses on the policy, its roots, and its development. Here scholars in this field are interested in understanding how policy emerged. What problems it was intended to solve, how it changed and

¹⁵⁷ P., deLeon, and D. M. Vogenback, *The policy sciences at a crossroads*. In F. Fischer, G. J. Miller, & M. S. Sidney (Eds.), *Handbook of public policy analysis: Theory, politics, and methods* (Boca Raton, 2007), 3–14.

¹⁵⁸ S., Diem, et al, “The intellectual landscape of critical policy analysis” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 27, no. 9 (2014), 1068-1090.

¹⁵⁹ M. Edelman, *Politics as symbolic action: Mass arousal and quiescence* (Chicago, IL: Markham, 1971).

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., Ball 1998: See also M. Honig, (Ed.), *New directions in educational policy implementation: Confronting complexity* (New York, NY: State University of New York, 2006); B., Malen, et al, “Reconstituting schools: Testing the theory of action,” *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, no. 24 (2002), 113–132.

developed overtime, and its role in reinforcing the dominant culture.¹⁶¹ It is evidenced through this research that, most scholars by this field seek the historical and contextual clues that might help them gain a better understanding of policy changes, conditions, and results¹⁶² even though they do not address how policy tools and processes facilitates policy institutionalization and internalization. Questions of how power, resources, and knowledge is distributed are a concern in critical policy analysis. Anyon and Foucault have asked about the creation of winners and losers in educational policy formulation. They question about the policy itself and who gets what, when, and how.¹⁶³ limited in this perspective is educational policy analyst looking out to groups who resisted the process of oppression and domination. Social stratification which is the fourth concern focuses on the broader effect a given policy has on relationships of inequality and privilege.¹⁶⁴ I am in agreement with scholars who ask questions such as: Does policy x somehow reinforce or produce social injustice and inequalities? Do institutional setups serve as a medium to maintain marginalization and oppression? To help me answer some of these questions, critical theorists like Bourdieu hold that schools as an institution is one of the entities that has produced inequalities and continuous to produce same.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ P. Burke, *What is cultural history?* (Cambridge: Polity Press 2004); R. Chartier, *Cultural history: Between practices and representations* L. G. Cochrane, Trans. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); A. Green, *The houses of history: A critical reader in twentieth-century history and theory*. (Manchester: 1999).

¹⁶² Brewer, C. A. Interpreting the policy past: The relationship between education and antipoverty policy during the Carter administration, *Unpublished doctoral dissertation* (Austin, TX, 2008).

¹⁶³ J. Anyon, "Social class and the hidden curriculum of work," *Journal of Education*, no. 62, 67–92.; M. Foucault, *The archeology of knowledge*. (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1980).

¹⁶⁴ Bernal, J. L. "Parental choice, social class and market forces: The consequences of privatization of public services in education," *Journal of Education Policy*, no. 20 (2005), 79–792; P., McLaren, and J. M. Giarelli, *Introduction: Critical theory and educational research*, In P. McLaren and J. M. Giarelli (Eds.), *Critical theory and educational research* (Albany, NY: 1995), 1–22; R. Riddell, "Government policy, stratification and urban schools: A commentary on the Five-year strategy for children and learners," *Journal of Education Policy*, no. 20 (2005), 237–241.

¹⁶⁵ P. Bourdieu, *Language and symbolic power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1991)

Application of CPA to the Study of Educational Policy

Critical policy scholars have offered alternative strategies for examining a variety of educational policy issues and, as a result, have offered new perspectives on taken for granted policy issues and how problems of leadership practice make an impact. In her study of two present-day school desegregation policies for example, Diem provides a nuanced historical case study analysis of the complexities behind the development and implementation of policies that use a variety of factors in assigning students to schools with the goal of achieving racial and socioeconomic diversity.¹⁶⁶ She merges a critical policy analysis approach with a policy implementation framework in order to illustrate how and why decisions were made when designing the policies, the (un)intended consequences of the policy implementation process, and how the politics surrounding student assignment policies (local, state, and federal) has an impact on their design and implementation. “The policy implementation process no longer can be viewed in terms of one group of people working to shape and influence how a policy gets implemented”¹⁶⁷ Therefore I think examining the interaction among policy, people, and places is critical to understanding policy design, implementation, and development.

This is why critical policy scholars are particularly interested in exploring and questioning the roots and development of educational policy as well as “the complex systems and environments in which policy is made and implemented.”¹⁶⁸ This illustrates how sociopolitical and geographic contexts matter when shaping, adopting, and garnering support for student assignment policies that seek to racially and economically diversify schools.

¹⁶⁶ S. A., Diem, *Critical policy analysis of the politics, design, and implementation of student assignment policies* (2017). In M. D. Young and S. Diem (Eds.), *Critical approaches to education policy analysis: Moving beyond tradition* (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing), 43-62.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., Diem 2017: 47.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., Diem 2014: 1068-1090.

In nearly all of Ontario, Canada's elementary and secondary schools, school fundraising occurs in order to support school programs and resources. Yet, Milani and Winton¹⁶⁹ show the contradictory nature of such fundraising and the critical democratic commitment to equality, equity, social justice, and community as fundraising shifts the responsibility of funding education from the public to the private domain. Employing a critical democratic lens in their CPA to illustrate how Ontario's fundraising policy is undermining the ideals of critical democracy in its public schools, Milani and Winton are particularly interested in the policy's contexts of influence, text production, and practice. They utilize a CPA approach because "it provides the opportunity to interrogate the policy process, social structures, and power dynamics within the policy field"¹⁷⁰ and assists in determining whether the fundraising policy supports equity, inclusion, participatory decision-making processes, and knowledge inquiry and critical mindedness. The findings of Milani and Winton's CPA show that if critical democracy is to be achieved in Ontario's school system, the fundraising should be stopped.

Finally, Young¹⁷¹ use a feminist critical policy framework to analyze recent federal and state educational policies and their impact on women. Feminist critical policy analysis, which frames the gender/power dynamics in issue-framing, coalitions, and funding, enables the search for how thinking is mediated by historically constituted power relations, how constructed "facts" and assumptions became perpetuated as aspects of reality, and how some groups have gained and maintained privilege.¹⁷² Specifically, these authors use feminist critical policy analysis to track the adoption of recent educational policies, to explore how they have been shaped by discourses and relationships of power, and to identify how these policy trends subtly work counter to the

¹⁶⁹ M., Milani, and S. Winton, Ontario's fourth 'r': *A critical democratic analysis of Ontario's fund-'raising policy'* (2017). Ibid., M. D. Young and S. Diem (Eds.) 2017: 193-214.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., Diem et al. 2014.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., M. D., Young and A. L Reynolds, (2017). In M. D. Young and S. Diem (Eds.) 2017: 19-42.

¹⁷² Ibid., Young and Reynolds 2017.

interests of women educators and leaders. Through their analysis, Marshall and Young show how certain policies, like accountability and the adoption of national curricula and standards, and policy discourses, such as policy discourses that frames public education, educators and educational leaders as failures and poor investments, have become avenues for undermining women's power, pay, status, and chance to speak their voices. Furthermore, Young demonstrate how state and national emergencies, like the recession and state budget crises, have been used as reasons and tools for attacking women's status and power.

As these examples demonstrate, education policy can significantly impact children's lives, educator's working conditions, the viability of communities, and the profession in general, its implications for critical analysis of educational policy, policy actors, and policy conditions can be substantial. "Non-traditional framing of policy, policy entities, and policy actors facilitates the development of questions that are rarely asked when traditional perspectives are employed"¹⁷³ CPA provides insight into the elements of educational policy that are typically left unquestioned but may contain features that, if left unchecked, can undermine the very outcomes a given policy intended to support.¹⁷⁴

Postcolonial Theory and Education

Postcolonial Theory (PCT) considers the political, aesthetic, economic, historical, and social impact of European colonial rule around the globe from the 18th through the 20th century.¹⁷⁵ This theory has the tendency of taking many different forms and interpositions, but all share a fundamental claim: that today's inhabited world is impossible to understand except in relationship to the history of imperialism and colonial rule.¹⁷⁶ It is therefore impossible to

¹⁷³ Ibid., Young and Reynolds 2017: 40.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., M. D. Young and S. Diem (Eds.) 2017: 193-214.

¹⁷⁵ <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780190221911/obo-9780190221911-0069.xml>

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., www.oxfordbibliographies.com

conceive of “European philosophy,” “European literature,” or “European history” as existing in the absence of Europe’s colonial encounters and oppression around the globe.¹⁷⁷ Even though the prefix “post” of “postcolonial theory” has been rigorously debated among scholars, they all come to a consensus that, it has never implied that colonialism has ended; indeed, much of postcolonial theory is concerned with the lingering forms of colonial authority after the formal end of the Empire. Other forms of the postcolonial theory are openly endeavoring to imagine a world *after* colonialism, but one which has yet to come into existence.¹⁷⁸

The field of postcolonial studies is greatly influenced by Edward Said owing to his explicit work in his book *Orientalism*, which described a structure set of concepts, assumptions, and discursive practices that were used to produce, interpret, and evaluate knowledge about non-European people. Said’s analysis made it possible for scholars to deconstruct literary and historical texts to understand how they reflected and reinforced the imperialist project. His work drew attention to the relationship between knowledge and power, by foregrounding the cultural and epistemological work of imperialism. Said was able to undermine the ideological assumption of value-free knowledge and show that “knowing the Orient” was part of the project of dominating it.¹⁷⁹

For this research, Postcolonial theory is valuable for examining formal education in Gold Coast-Ghana and how the colonizer contributed or not to the colonized, indigenous way of knowledge transfer. As a framework, it also helps in identifying, analyzing, and critiquing the historical consequences of the colonial legacy on education, language, and culture of colonized countries. Said’s *Orientalism* sets a binary between the East and the West emphasizing the “system [s] of discourse by which the ‘world’ is divided, administered, plundered, by which

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., www.oxfordbibliographies.com

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., www.oxfordbibliographies.com

¹⁷⁹ Said Edward, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978).

humanity is thrust into pigeonholes, by which ‘we’ are ‘human’ and ‘they’ are not”.¹⁸⁰ In other words, this theory brings to the forefront the Western privileged, authoritative, and ideological position while relegating the rest of the world to the margins.¹⁸¹

Also, as a major feature, Postcolonial theory holds that decolonized people develop a postcolonial identity that is based on cultural interactions between different identities such as cultural, national, ethnic as well as gender and class, which are based on assigned varying degrees of social power by the colonial society.¹⁸² This feature connects with my third research question, which seeks to find out the policy implication that impacted education and socio-economic development as a result of colonial educational policies and school curriculum. Here, Postcolonial Theory helps address the cultural imperialism by recognizing and unsettling its legacy in the school curriculum.

Studies utilizing the perspective of postcolonial theory have become established and increasingly available over the past year. Its emergence in education is not an exception, as structured European-type education was strategically introduced into Africa through colonization and became part of European colonial powers. These powers determined what system of education was operational at one time or another in their various colonies. I would point out that, while the demand for indigenous education is on the rise among African elites, accommodating global educational standards is vital for educational and global human resource development in Africa.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., Said 1978: 41.

¹⁸¹ Onyenekwu, et. al. “Misrepresentation among U.S study abroad programs travelling to the African Continent: A critical content analysis of a Teach Abroad program,” *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*. vol. 28 (2017), 68-84.

¹⁸² Ibid., Said 1978.

Literature Specific to the Topic

British Education in Africa

Africa, of which the Gold Coast-Ghana is a part, is one of the locations where PCT and CPA are most applicable because the practice of these theories has to a large extent its roots in colonialism itself. Over the past few years, increasing attention has been given to the history of the British Empire and the nature of its contribution and legacy in the modern world.¹⁸³ Much of this general literature, for example, the recent five-volume *Oxford History of the British Empire*¹⁸⁴ has included little material specifically on education and has not delved into interpreting or analyzing the policies, and school curricula used in educating the children of Africa. At the same time, substantial literature has developed on the ways in which the ideas and practices of education in Britain influenced the nature and systems of education in different parts of the British Empire. This literature has generated interesting debates around the nature of cultural imperialism and the relationship between the ‘center’ and the ‘periphery’,¹⁸⁵ the extent to which imperial influences were beneficial and the ways in which these influences played out in different nations, and areas in Africa.

These influences I agree are the awakening of the continent to the results of how colonization worked to “decivilize the colonized, to brutalize him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and

¹⁸³ W. Louis (Ed.), *The Oxford history of the British Empire*, vol. 5 (Oxford, 1999); N. Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain made the modern world* (London, 2003); P. Brendon, *The Decline and fall of the British Empire* (London: Cape, 2007).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., Louis 1999.

¹⁸⁵ Example: G. McCulloch and R. Lowe, (eds.) “Centre and periphery: Networks, space and geography in the history of education,” *History of Education* 32(5), special issue (2003): See also: G. McCulloch “Empires and Education: The British Empire,” In: R., Cowen, A.M. Kazamias (eds), “International Handbook of Comparative Education,” *Springer International Handbooks of Education* vol 22, (Springer, Dordrecht). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-6403-6_12

moral relativism.”¹⁸⁶ These systems of systemic marginalization, I see were all inspirations that initiated modern anti-colonial movements around the world. Even though Leopold Sédar Senghor noted the importance to consider the African and European cultures to enrich each other while preserving their own cultural identities, he also observed that between the colonizer and colonized there is room only for forced labor, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, and a degraded mass.¹⁸⁷

Africans through colonization learned that education is civilization, by which it is defined by the European-structured school system and Europeanisation of the indigenous people. As a continent, Africa experienced all of the different types of colonialisms in which the Dutch, Danes, Swedish, Germany, Britain, France, and Portugal among others were present.¹⁸⁸ This explains why it is precisely in Africa that the different types of postcolonialism, postcolonial criticism, postcolonial readings, a postcolonial state, and its representations are taking place.¹⁸⁹

Regarding the relationship between the center and periphery, we see in most cases the center is the dominating power, which determines who gets what, when, and how.¹⁹⁰ The center has all it takes to attract and get attracted to by the periphery. This emerging scenario is enough to explain the dependency complex of colonized people on the European Empires while the latter continue to benefit from such relations after years of independence of these African countries. The Berlin Conference, which created different countries in Africa, not only put Africans under various European powers but succeeded in disuniting them as a people. The impact of 1884 is

¹⁸⁶ Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans: Joan Pinkham, (New York, 1972), 6. As cited by Ibid., Pedro 2015.

¹⁸⁷ Leopold Sédar Senghor, *The Collected Poetry* (University of Virginia Press, 1992).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., Armah Ayi Kwei 2010. See also, Malisa Mark and Thelma Quartey Missedja, “Schooled for Servitude: The Education of African Children in British Colonies, 1910-1990,” *Journal of Genealogy* (2019)

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., Pedro 2015.

¹⁹⁰ Carpenter William Seal, “Politics: Who Gets What, When, How,” By Harold D. Lasswell (New York: Whittlesey House. 1936.), ix- 264 *American Political Science Review* 30, no. 6 (1936), 1174–76. doi:10.2307/1948299.

still felt today among African leaders, such that some want complete independence while others wanted to preserve connection with former colonial masters.

Imperial Diffusion of Racism through African Education

Education and educational systems have been one major inheritance of Africans from their respective colonizers. This form of inheritance for British-Africa is what J. A. Mangan described as the “imperial diffusion”¹⁹¹ of British education. According to McCulloch, this imperial diffusion of British education around the British Empire from the nineteenth century onward has become a familiar feature of educational historiography.¹⁹² The use of PCT for analyzing postcolonial education has seen some success but it is still problematic because education today in most colonies are borrowed with little or no indigenous orientation. Absent in this literature are these questions I ask. Who were the policy makers during colonial times? and who are the driving forces behind global education today? It is also a good idea to look at the contextual forces that eventually continue to influence educational systems, its policies, and the content of the school curriculum.

European colonialism was established steeped in the belief that “superior races” have the privilege and the duty to civilize savages who came into existence on a day which can be termed unlucky, described in the scenario as the symbol of the subject races.¹⁹³ Throughout the last four and half centuries, racism, and white supremacy have continually threatened the existence of African people before, during, and after colonialism¹⁹⁴ A notable British geographer, James

¹⁹¹ J. A. Mangan (Ed), *Benefits bestowed? Education and British imperialism* (Manchester, 1988). See also: J. A. Mangan (Ed.), *The imperial curriculum: Racial images and education in the British colonial experience* (London: Routledge, 1993). Also see: Mark Malisa and Thelma Quardey Missedja, “Schooled for Servitude: The Education of African Children in British Colonies 1910-1990” *Genealogy* 3, no.3 (2019), 40.

¹⁹² G. McCulloch, “Empires and Education: The British Empire” *International Handbook of Comparative Education* (2009), 169-179.

¹⁹³ S. A. Gallagher, *Story of South Africa: J.M Coetzee’s, Fiction in Context* (London: Harvard University Press, 1991), 194. B. Gebrewold, *Deconstructing the Civilizing Process* (2008), IPS- 6011.

¹⁹⁴ As cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart, “British colonial education policy in Africa” *Internal journal of English and literature* vol. 2(9), (Ishik University, 2011), 190-94.

MacQueen arrogantly proclaims, “if we really wish to do good in Africa, we must teach her savage sons that white men are their superiors”¹⁹⁵ The English novel in the scenario of the Crusoe, the island Crusoe attempts to change all of nature, including Friday. Crusoe begins imposing cultural imperialism. He gives Friday his new name and instructs “Friday” to call him “Master”. Crusoe then teaches Friday the English language needed for the master-servant relationship and he wants Friday to be useful, handy, and dependent. Crusoe then converts Friday’s religion. When Crusoe wants to build a boat, for example, he assigns Friday all the difficult tasks. Crusoe is able to prove his superiority through tongue, pen, gun, and Bible. Kehinde argues that, in Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, Crusoe the Western European self is equated with futurity, vision, civilization, rationality, language, and light. Conversely, the depiction of the non-European (the Amerindians, the African) in the text is an absolute negation of the Other. Blacks are associated with pre-history, savagery, cannibalism, unconsciousness, silence, and darkness.¹⁹⁶

Gebrewold argues that the colonizer considered the colonized as Sub humans. Because he considered them inferior, he says that’s the justification for exploiting and subduing them; on the other hand, the colonizer insisted it was his ethical and Christian responsibility to civilize them. The colonizer’s educational goal was to expose Africans to a superior culture. Colonizers thought they were developed and well educated. Colonization, which started with the goal of colonizer’s providing modernization for colonized people, turned into a means of service for and oppression by white people.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ T., Folola, “The Amistad’s Legacy: Reflections on the Spaces of Colonization,” *Fourth Annual Distinguished AMISTAD Lecture* 14(2), (Central Connecticut State University, 2007). <http://www.ccsu.edu/afstudy/upd>. See also: Ibid., Malisa and Missedja 2019.

¹⁹⁶ A., Kehinde, *Post-Colonial Literatures as Counter Discourse: J.M. Coetzee’s Foe and the Reworking of the Canon*. J. Afr. Literature and Culture, (2006), 33-57.

¹⁹⁷ B., Gebrewold, “Deconstructing the Civilizing Process,” (n.d. IPS- 6011, 2008). See also Tuğrul Mart, 2011.

George Urch summarizes in “Education and Colonialism in Kenya” that the influx of settlers had given a tremendous impetus toward trade and development. With a policy of granting huge tracts of land to the wealthier settlers, a great demand was created for African help of all kinds.¹⁹⁸ The need for skilled native labor by the white settlers caused the colonizers to reconsider the educational program. George concludes that while the Africans were developing an interest in Western-style literary education, the colonial government began to realize the necessity of training Africans for their service. This change of focus in the system of education could only be affected by policy change through systemic marginalization, which is the one aspect of critical analysis mostly overlooked about colonial educational discourse in Africa. Such systemic marginalization, which produced segregation and racism, is also seen in the design of Bantu education or apartheid education in South Africa based on policies observed in Britain. This statement by Dr. Verwoerd, one of the designers explaining the purpose of apartheid education indicated:

When I am controller of Native Education, I will reform it so that the natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them ... The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community. There is no place for him in the European community above certain forms of labor.... Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life-according to the sphere in which they live.¹⁹⁹

It is a clear indication that, the major reason for educating African children in the colonies was to condition them to accept inferiority and positions of service based on their race. These policies and reforms as seen in the case of South Africa, were a re-structuring of society designed to teach the African where he belonged in relation to Europeans. Education, which was molded to prepare children for their future roles, instead, reinforced racist systems.

¹⁹⁸ E. G. Urch, “Education and Colonialism in Kenya,” *Hist. Edu. Q.*, 11(3), (1971), 249-264.

¹⁹⁹ Birley Robert, “African Education in South Africa,” *African Affairs* no. 67, (1968), 152–58. Ibid., Malissa and Missedja 2019

Speaking about the “miseducation of the negro” Carter Woodson extensively stated among other things that:

The negro's mind has been bought under the control of his oppressor. The problem of holding the negro down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking you don't have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his proper place and will stay in it. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary.²⁰⁰

School Curriculum as Social Reproduction

The ability for curriculum to shape the economic, social, and political futures of students has been documented by several scholars.²⁰¹ Among those who studied the social and education, or the curriculum of education in Africa, it became evidenced that the curriculum played a significant role in social and economic reproduction. Like these scholars, Collins affirms there was a direct connection between educational experiences, economic life, and ways of living, especially in North America and England.²⁰² As such, many questioned the idea that education and schooling could bring about social and economic transformation. But for Foucault, “any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and powers which they carry.”²⁰³ Although schooling and education were often marketed as a way for growth and development, it would appear as if there was an expected limit to how high African students could go, taking into considering the racism that underpinned colonialism. A critical sociologist has questioned the purposes of the curriculum, observing that “schooling practices, in particular curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, were themselves related to the unequal patterns of social power.”²⁰⁴ Over time,

²⁰⁰ Carter G. Woodson, *Mis-Education of the Negro* (D.C, 1933), 83-99.

²⁰¹ M. Apple, *Education and Power* (London: Routledge, 1982).

²⁰² Collins James, “Social Reproduction in classrooms and schools,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, no. 38 (2009), 33–48. See also, Malissa and Missedja 2019

²⁰³ Ibid., Foucault 1984:123, as cited in Christie Pam, *The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1990).

²⁰⁴ Ibid., Christie Pam 1990.

African students in British colonies realized the stumbling blocks posed by education,²⁰⁵ which began the call for reforms and educational systems that meet the needs of the indigenous.

Education to Dismantle Cultural Tradition

In McGarvey's article "Conquest of the Mind" he wrote about Semali, a Tanzanian who had both master and Ph.D. degree's life experiences. Narrating Semali's experience, McGarvey indicated according to him while growing up in what was then called Tanganyika, they had already been colonized under the Germans and then the British after the first World War. Semali said "the colonial school I attended did not teach me to be a member of Chagga society. Although I had certain knowledge system as a member of the village, I read, wrote, and spoke things at school that didn't fit into village life."²⁰⁶ Many measures were put in place by the colonizers to take control of authority in Chagga, which they did through the school system. The colonizer thus used colonial school as their main tool for dismantling cultural traditions. In the article, the author narrates Semali said his village began to fall apart as the colonizer began to gradually replace Chagga traditions with colonial systems.

Education for De-Ruralization, Break of Family Systems, and Sense of Community

Continuing with Semali's experience, he recalled how "traditionally, village elders were responsible for passing the social values and customs of our community on to the children" "However, children were not thought using the same traditional method which did away with memorization of content, writing examinations, and abstract learning."²⁰⁷ The traditional way of leading called the *apvunda*-taught the village child *learning by doing*, a philosophy of education

²⁰⁵ Christie Pam and C. Collins, "Bantu education: Apartheid ideology of labor reproduction?" *Comparative Education* no.18, (1982), 59–75; Morrow Walter Eugene, *Aims of Education in South Africa* (New York: Springer, 1990).

²⁰⁶ A. J. McGarvey, "Conquest of the mind" research/Pen State 18, no. 2 (1997). As cited by Ibid., Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011: 192-3.

that was necessary in everyday Chagga life. Apvunda extended knowledge into three practical aspects: social duties, social values, and spiritual beliefs”²⁰⁸ Village elders couldn’t keep their communities together anymore because of the new school system “the trust of the community was betrayed, because they were taught by the village to trust each other as children through the passing on of social values and customs.” “But now we learned that we could not trust each other, we never knew who might have the block.” He lamented “the community was supposed to bond together, but the colonial school was dividing it.”²⁰⁹ Post colonialist Woolman mirrored the worse about how western education was used as a process of psychological de-ruralisation in his study, that showed how the educated African became a misfit in his own village after graduation. Parents did not even expect their educated sons to continue living with them to be tending the cattle or cultivating the land,²¹⁰ because they felt they were better people now and didn’t deserve to do the services that provided for their education and every day livelihood.

Education for Dependence from Self-reliance

The kind of colonial education given to the indigenous people in then Tanganyika according to Semali made their culture disappear, and “as their culture disappeared so did the knowledge that made Chagga to be self-reliant.”²¹¹ In his article, McGarvey stated, according to Semali “they became dependent on the British and other Europeans to provide them with such everyday needs as food, clothing, and shelter.”²¹² The researcher is of the view that, this is how dependency on the center by the periphery as described by McCulloh all started. Deliberate policies and systems were put in place to ensure Chagga becomes dependent on the British for

²⁰⁸ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011: 193-4.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011: 193-4.

²¹⁰ C.D. Woolman, “Educational Reconstruction and Post-colonial Curriculum Development: A Comparative study four African Countries,” *Int. Educ. J.*, 2, no. 5 (2001), 27-46. See also Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011, 193.

²¹¹ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011 194 :5.

²¹² Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011 194: 5.

everything and by imperial diffusion and assimilation, they were made to believe and accept everything British and European was superior. This could also have influenced their taste and preferences for European goods. As McCulloh summarizes, the center always has everything to attract the periphery.

School Curriculum for Language Change

The split up of Africa by the Berlin Conference put Africans in such a way that those within the same language groups were separated and forbidden to speak in their own languages. In Tanganyika for example, Semali narrates “as soon as we enter the fifth grade, we were no longer allowed to speak our native language Kichagga. We had to speak English.”²¹³ Semali continued to say, the way teachers enforced this rule was thorough, school mates were set as spies on each other and anyone who caught the other speaking Kihagga-the indigenous language secretly reported to the teachers, who then punished the offenders.²¹⁴

External Influence on British-Africa Education

It is necessary to admit that “in essence schooling is organized to provide individuated, technical knowledge to select strata of consumer-workers, largely white, middle class, and compliant.”²¹⁵ Although Bourdieu and Passeron²¹⁶ and Bowles and Gintis²¹⁷ studied schools in Europe and North America, their observations on education and social reproduction are applicable to the context in colonial Africa, especially given the extent to which European and North American curricula were adapted in Africa. The model of industrial education that was

²¹³ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011: 193.

²¹⁴ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011: 193.

²¹⁵ Collins James, “Social Reproduction in classrooms and schools”. *Annual Review of Anthropology* no. 38. (2009) :33–48.

²¹⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977). As cited in M., Mark, and Q. M., “Thelma, Schooled for servitude: The education of African Children in British Colonies, 1910-1990,” *Genealogy* 3, no. 40 (2019).

²¹⁷ Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (New York: Basic Books, 1976). Ibid., Mark et al. 2019.

exported to Africa, for example, was based on the education at Tuskegee and the Hampton Institute.²¹⁸ In addition, it was not uncommon for the American specialist to serve as an expert on educational issues in Africa and the colonies.²¹⁹ The racial caste system that was prevalent in North America prior to the Civil Rights Act for example was exported to Africa, with apartheid in South Africa providing a mirror-image of *Plessey vs. Ferguson*. Within apartheid:

A de jure racial hierarchy divided the population into four groups: whites, Indians, colored, and black Africans. Rights and benefits were allocated according to this hierarchy, with whites being most advantaged and black Africans being most disadvantaged. As with every aspect of social, political, and economic life under apartheid, education was racially stratified.²²⁰

And as evidenced in the literature, for the most part, curriculum practices in British colonies were almost consistent, whether it was Ghana,²²¹ Nigeria,²²² East Africa,²²³ or Southern Africa.²²⁴ This was mostly because, what was successful in one British colony was replicated in the other.

The emphasis on industrial education designed for Africans was one in which the curriculum was largely designed on vocational trades or skills, even from elementary education. In most schools, gardening was part of the curriculum. However, it was mostly the growing of

²¹⁸ Shoko Yamada, "Educational borrowing as negotiation: Re-examining the influence of the American Black industrial education model on British colonial education in Africa," *Comparative Education*, no. 44 (2008), 21–3.

²¹⁹ Persians Panayiotis, "The British colonial education 'Lending' Policy in Cyprus (1878–1960): An intriguing example of an elusive 'Adapted Education' policy," *Comparative Education* 32 (1996), 45–68. Clive Whitehead, "Education in British Colonial Dependencies, 1919–39: A Re-Appraisal," *Comparative Education* no.17 (1981), 71–80.

²²⁰ Curriculum control has been an integral part both of the South African education system, and of its contestation. From the State's side apartheid education has always been the strict definition of what State schools and what the organizing principles of the curriculum should be. Teeger, Chana. Ruptures in the Rainbow Nation: How desegregated South African schools deal with interpersonal and structural racism. *Sociology of Education* no. 88: (226–43) 2015.

²²¹ Cyrelene Amoah. Boampong, "Rethinking British colonial policy in the Gold Coast: The language factor," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, no.15 (2013), 137–57.

²²² Udo Bude, "The Adaptation concept in British colonial education" *Comparative Education*, no. 19 (1983), 341–55.

²²³ Ann Beck, "Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900–50," *Journal of British Studies*, no. 5 (1966), 115–38.

²²⁴ Zoller Margaret Booth, "Settler, missionary, and the State: Contradictions in the formulation of educational policy in colonial Swaziland," *History of Education*, no. 32 (2003), 35–56. See also: Edgar, Brookes, *Native Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1930).

vegetable gardens, rather than flower gardens that was encouraged. Bude observed that many boarding schools had their own gardens and cash crops.²²⁵ Although the gardens and crops could be used as evidence of the success of industrial education, the produce also helped meet the needs of the students, especially at a time when African schools received very little funding from the government. Among the main subjects taught to African students included agriculture, poultry, vegetables, orchards, hygiene, first aid, handcrafts, carpentry, home economics, cooking, dressmaking, and, bricklaying.²²⁶ Such subjects were designed as part of early vocational training, and in many ways, were meant to prepare African children for the service, manufacturing, and agricultural sectors.²²⁷

Different vocational trades were made available to boys, and others to girls, thereby introducing sexism. Girls, for example, were encouraged to study housekeeping, cooking, sewing, and child-care. While the curriculum was designed in Europe and North America, the colonial governments acquiesced:

It was easy for the colonial powers of Africa to relish a philosophy of education and life that stood for black acquiescence and obedience to the status quo. Tuskegee students-or “Captains of Industry” as Booker T. Washington liked to call them-were welcome in Colonial Nigeria, the Belgian Congo, South Africa, and throughout British East Africa in the early twentieth century.²²⁸

The access to vocational and/or industrial education was not meant to help Africans succeed or show their skills above their European counterparts.²²⁹ The underlying assumption, as

²²⁵ Udo Bude, “The Adaptation concept in British colonial education,” *Comparative Education*, no. 19 (1983), 341–55.

²²⁶ Michael Appel, *Ideology and the Curriculum* (Boston and New York: Routledge 2004).

Booth, Zoller Margaret. Settler, missionary, and the State: Contradictions in the formulation of educational policy in colonial Swaziland. *History of Education* no. 32, (2003), 35–56. See also: Ibid., Bude 1983.

²²⁷ Donald Spivey “The African crusade for Black industrial schooling,” *The Journal of Negro History*, no. 63 (1978), 1–17.

²²⁸ Ibid., Spivey 1978: 2.

²²⁹ Paul Maylam, *South Africa’s Racial Past: The History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation and Apartheid*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); R. Shepherd, “The South African Bantu Education Act,” *African Affairs* no. 54 (1965): 138–42.

far as academic achievement was concerned, was that Africans could not gain mastery in ‘bookish subjects.’ There was no expectation that Africans would compete for positions with the colonizers and the prescribed curriculum ensured this.

Even with the emphasis on industrial education, there were occasions when African students were offered an academic curriculum. Among the subjects were English, History, Religious Knowledge, Latin, (African language) Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Geography, Physics, and Chemistry.²³⁰ All these subjects, other than African languages, were taught from a colonial perspective, and for the most part, English was the medium of instruction. Success or passing English language was considered an integral part of being considered successful in the examinations. Because of the academic curriculum’s focus on Europe and North America, there was a tendency to portray African countries as traditional and backward, while Europe and North America were viewed as modern and developed. Extra-curricular activities, including sports, were also segregated, and some were available to European or White students, while others were available to both Africans and European students. The earning potential as a result of playing in those sports, should students want to turn professional, was also very different.²³¹ Cricket, rugby, tennis, hockey, and polo were generally for White students. Soccer, netball, volleyball, track and field events, on the other hand, were open to all students, although they had a considerably lower earning potential.²³²

Summary

This chapter provided historical accounts that contributed to western formal education in the Gold Coast-Ghana. First the background to the literature was given. Then the theoretical

²³⁰ Michael Omolewa, “Educating the “Native”: A Study of the Education Adaptation Strategy in British Colonial Africa, 1910–36,” *The Journal of African American History*, no.91(2006), 267–87.

²³¹ Robin Grier, “Colonial legacies and economic growth,” *Public Choice*, no 98 (1999), 317–35.

²³² John Davies, “Politics, sport and education in South Africa,” *African Affairs*, no. 85: (1986), 351–63.

framework guiding the study was introduced to expand the literature on the research topic by giving an overview of Critical Policy Analysis (CPT) and Postcolonial Theory (PCT). This overview included the historical background, a general representation of British colonial education in Africa captured under three overarching themes, with some examples specific to African countries. As evident in the research literature, education in British colonies were primarily consistent in all her colonies with slight differentiations in policy and curriculum. There is a paucity of literature providing close interpretation and analysis of such policies and school curriculum specific to the countries and the corresponding policy implication(s) on native people, which this research addresses.

Chapter 3 details the methodology for this historiography. Here, an in-depth description will be given about historiography as a methodology, the research design for the study, its methodological assumptions, method, data analysis, and data collection.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

The growth and learning about the background of education in Ghana offers insight into the philosophy and ideology on which it was built. In this chapter, the study describes historiography as a methodology, presents the research design, then the methodological assumptions are followed with method. Data validity and reliability is explained, then data analysis process is described. Finally, the chapter concludes with the limitation of the methodology and the research process.

Historiography

Historiography is the careful study of historical writing and the ways in which historians interpret the past through various theoretical lenses and methodologies. These methodologies detail the frames and parameters of historical writings in order to further our understanding of the past and critical examination of history, historical methods, and historical writing.²³³ Key to historiography is the ability to make meaning by understanding objective/philosophy, ideological standings, and politics of the day. Methods within historiography are informed by a theory or theories that set the boundaries useful in making meaning about history, with interest about event, time, and its relationship with people.²³⁴ An important part of historiography is asking unique questions that generate detailed responses for the research purpose. Questions about the why? how? and when? trigger critical thinking, which need critical interpretation for a meta-analysis²³⁵ of historical findings. When historiographers use a critical lens for interpretation, they

²³³ J. Kincheloe, "Educational historiographical meta-analysis: Rethinking methodology in the 1990s," *Qualitative Studies in Education* vol. 4, no. 3 (1991).

²³⁴ Ibid., Kincheloe 1991. For this research the theories used are two: The critical policy analysis and the postcolonial theories.

²³⁵ Ibid., Kincheloe 1991.

do so by looking beyond what is seen, for what is obscure, and concealed in events, people, policy, culture, belief systems, norms, and values.

Researchers in this field have said meta-analysis is a significant part of historiography. This form of analysis goes beyond accepting the status quo, but investigating how the existing analysis is produced. This gives an insight into discovering what has been excluded, what has been included, and what has been added by researchers from their own perspective and bias.²³⁶ Since historiography often includes the writing of other historians, the context from which that historian wrote is as important as what the historian made from it. Such outcomes are made known through findings from historical research studies.

Research Design

The study uses the historical research design, which concerns itself with the collection, verification, interpretation, and analysis of information detailing past events to establish an existing fact, making meaning of those facts, and/or refuting the facts, while presenting evidence to bridge the gap. As a major characteristic, this design involves the study, interpretation, and analysis of past events, which aims at gaining an understanding of the impact of the past on the present and a projection into related future occurrences.²³⁷ Some of the future occurrences may not be however related to a past event, in such instance, it could be used to predict the future based on previous experience.

Methodological Assumption

In research, the methodology of study refers to its philosophical orientation and/or framework.²³⁸ The methodology is significant in determining the kind of method(s) employed in

²³⁶ Ibid., Kincheloe 1991. Also see: L., Parker, "Historiography for the new millennium: Adventures in accounting and management," *Accounting History*. (1999).

²³⁷ T., Laxami, *Historical research design: Development of nursing education in Nepal* (Nepal, 2017).

²³⁸ Ibid., L., Cohen, L., Manion, and K., Morrison 2011.

a research study, which also helps researchers answer their research questions. Methodology provides guidelines for action in the study of a variety of past events, situations, people. etc. In this study, I used a combination of two frameworks and a methodology, which are critical policy analysis (CPA), and postcolonial theoretical (PCT) and historical research method in the field of education.

CPA and PCT are justified because they are both engrained in colonialism itself, which fits the research period when Gold Coast-Ghana was colonized by Britain. These frameworks form the root of the research interpretation and analysis while historical research in education provides the grounds for gathering data from colonial educational policies and school curriculum. The purpose of data gathered is to answer the research questions.

Purpose of the Study

Understanding Ghana's education today must stem from a comprehensive historical overview of formal education from the lenses of British colonial policy and curriculum for the Gold Coast colony. The focus of this research is from 1919 to 1927. The study advances the educational policies/model characterizing British education in Gold Coast-Ghana, why the colonizer adopted these policies, and its affordances for the colonizer and constraints on the colonized. It is then climaxed by the impact such policies/model made on educational and socio-economic development of Ghana. This study also aims to promote the relevance of historical research in educational policy and curriculum formulation. Understanding the fundamentals of such policies and curriculum about education in Ghana is necessary in order to make informed decisions toward reforms geared toward human resource development and nation building.

Research Questions

The research topic for the study is “Western formal education in Gold Coast – Ghana: An overview of British Colonial policy and curriculum from 1919 to 1927.” The study addresses the following research questions:

1. What educational model characterized British education in Gold Coast from 1919-1927?
2. What were the affordances and constraints of the educational policies/model for the colonizers and the colonized from 1919-1927?
3. How did these policies/model impact education and socio-economic development of Ghana from 1919-1927?

Method

The research used historical method in education research to examine British colonial education policies and curriculum when western formal education was introduced to the natives of the Gold Coast now Ghana. Historical methods in education have been used in the past and are viable for educational study. This research makes use of historical documents and techniques to deal with current issues by recounting past events. For historical method in education, the purpose is to gain a clear view of the past for an analysis of the current situation. The meaning made from such analysis sets the context for present and future reforms, going a long way to avoid the mistakes of the past, and to give meaning to the dynamics of educational change.²³⁹

As a matter of importance, the use of historical method in education research for this study is justified because of its ability to bring meaning to deep-rooted causes of present-day educational problems by locating, interpreting, synthesizing, and analyzing historical evidence.

²³⁹ Ibid., Kincheloe 1991.

From such appraisals, researchers, students, and educational stakeholders are able to confirm and/or remove educational prejudice and misconceptions of facts.²⁴⁰

Collection of Data

This is the stage of research where comprehensive data was gathered. Sources of data are usually put into three categories: Primary, Secondary and Tertiary sources. Identifying the source of research data is essential in order to ascertain the validity and reliability of the study. The study explores two types of sources, Primary and Secondary sources. Each of these has its own strengths and weaknesses.

Primary Sources

Primary sources are original sources, often the first witness to the fact. Information available here are kept consciously or unconsciously for a purpose. For example, clothing, furniture, paintings, currencies (paper note and coins), etc. forms part of information unconsciously kept. Other sources such as autobiographies, letters, diaries, notes, speeches, videos, audio, photos, etc. are considered information kept consciously.²⁴¹ As listed, these examples could be seen in their physical or natural status; others may be a duplication in printed or electronic forms, while others could also be a representation of another's imagination based on vivid description of an historical event.

Collecting primary source information for this study included personal writings from eyewitness accounts, such as those from Gordon Guggisberg, Jesse Jones, the Phelps-Stoke Africa Education Commission reports, letters exchanged between the Empire and Colony, reports for committees, as well as minutes from legislative meetings. Some of these documents

²⁴⁰ According to Kincheloe, historical researchers know that "facts" rarely speaks for themselves; indeed, he said, understanding the past and its relationships to the present is bound to the ideological orientation of those who observe and present the facts. So, moving away from the traditional fact collection to meta-analysis of it is the new approach to historical research in education. Ibid., Kincheloe 1991.

²⁴¹ Ibid., Kincheloe 1991.

were printed versions, handwritten notes, and report writings. Those from J. H Oldham were his written personal accounts and experiences from his role during the colonial times and a few of those written to his name through narration. The personal writings of Guggisberg and wife provides photos of themselves through their period in the Gold Coast, this included letters exchanged between them, personal diaries, and notes, providing information based on an eyewitness account.²⁴²

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources are the reports of the persons who reported the testimony of an actual witness. The writer of the secondary source was not on the scene of the event but is able to interpret, synthesize, and make meaning from an available primary source. Secondary sources may not be fully accurate as it may bear some bias of the writer but they serve many useful purposes. Several of these sources were useful to this research, including peer-reviewed articles, printed textbooks, electronic books, synopsis, colonial newspapers, atlas images, and biographies written by critical historians both internal and local, and from scholars interested in the subject matter. Information from these documents made argumentative interpretation and analysis, bringing varied perspectives and supporting their claims with direct quotations based on historical facts and evidence and other works of historiography.

The geographical location, time frame, and research interest of the study played a role in the location of these secondary source. Two reference tools/databases were significant in gathering information—JSTOR and ERIC. JSTOR stands for Journal Storage and houses 19th

²⁴² In the preface of their bibliography titled “We two in West Africa” Guggisberg stated “My wife wanted to write an account of her travels, I wanted to write an account of mine. My wife was a new-comer and saw the novelty of things. I was a fairly old inhabitant and had grown accustomed to living in strange surroundings. My wife kept notes. He described the book as experience look on things through new glasses, or as fresh receptive mind regarding the “Coast” with the eyes of experience.

century British documents with a collection of more than 25,000 pamphlets.²⁴³ There are also chronicle political and socioeconomic issues and debates of concern to Britain at the time, as well as digitized files with preserved images. This database is not just important to this research but also to me as an individual from Ghana and an educationist. ERIC, Education Resource Information Center is an authoritative source for education literature and resource. This is an online library of education essentially sponsored by the Institute of Education Science of the U.S Department of Education, which makes it a valuable resource for all education-related research of all kinds.²⁴⁴ Because the role North American philanthropists played in the education of Africa where Ghana is located, information about their educational influence, supports, and achievement are readily available.

In addition, some pre-colonial and colonial documents useful to this study were available on the National Museum of Ghana web site and the beautiful images of significant cultural practices were also on the Ghana Cultural Institution's web site. Both the National Museum of Ghana and the Ghana Cultural Institution are overseen by the Ghana Museum and Monuments Boards. The board, which has its office centered in the capital city, is in charge of the museums and responsible for the maintenance of buildings and relics of historical importance throughout the country. Photos of the castles and forts built by various European powers used in this study were from their online resource.

Archival Records

Records from archives hold original and unique sources which are largely unpublished and can also hold books, periodicals, and pamphlets of historic nature often complementing and

²⁴³ <https://about.jstor.org>.

²⁴⁴ <https://eric.ed.gov>.

supporting the archive collections. Digital collections from archival records are mostly within the repository available to view on computers.²⁴⁵

Archival records of missionary activities were located from the denomination web site locally and international. Adequate historical accounts of missionary works and their specific contribution to education in Gold Coast-Ghana were retrieved from the missions' online records. As a member of the Methodist Church of Ghana, documents about the Wesleyan mission and their activities within the research period from the Archives and History Unit of the Church's headquarters based in Accra provide valuable data.

The Online Archives of California (OAC), which is a component of the University of California (UC) and California Digital Library (CDL),²⁴⁶ is tied to the Encoded Archival Descriptions (EDA), the international standard and extended format for describing archival collections. This online archive provides free public access to detailed primary source document related to the history of education, from more than 200 contributing institutions including libraries, special collections, historical societies, and museums throughout California. The African in America by Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), which documents Africans' journey through slavery, was helpful to the study as it connected the resource to certain happenings during the colonial era. The PBS section is divided into four parts. For each era, there was a historical narrative, a resource bank of images, documents, stories, biographies, and

²⁴⁵ Richard J. Cox, "Library History and Library Archives in the United States," in *Libraries & Culture* Vol. 26, no. 4 (1991).

²⁴⁶ Ibid., Richard 1991. An archive may have library as part of its name or the archives may be a section within a library. There is various archive which may meet specific research need, including: college and university archives, government archives, museum archives, religious archives, historical societies, and special collections. Archives also are distinct from libraries in terms of their functions and organization, even though archival collections also can be found within library buildings. we can find archives in colleges, universities, and in other educational facilities where libraries are housed. Having in the same building libraries and archives, helps researchers.

commentaries as well as a teacher's guide for using the content of the website and television series in U.S. history courses.²⁴⁷

The Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) in Ghana was first located at the former Colonial Secretary's office, now Ministry of Interior. A few of the colonial administration records and images used in this study were located here. Newspaper collections and maps were accessed from this archive.²⁴⁸

Validity and Reliability

An invalid and unreliable piece of research is useless.²⁴⁹ Validity and reliability are significant for any type of research. Generally, validity of a research study seeks to answer the question of how to measure the study's intended purpose while a research study's reliability seeks answers from the question, if we try this somewhere else using the same method, could we get same or similar result/conclusion? The researcher had these two questions in mind throughout the process. However, to achieve a valid and reliable result, there were some biases that needed to be considered, as it is worth admitting that researchers generally enter the field with some prior knowledge, preconceived ideas, and misconceptions.²⁵⁰ Thus, critical reflection emphasizes the need for the researcher to acknowledge their own position from the start to the end of the study.²⁵¹ As a Ghanaian, professional teacher of seven years in the high school, with key interest in educational policy, reforms, curriculum development, and teacher education, my beliefs, experiences, and research orientation might influence the choice of research questions. Having acknowledged this, I tried not to allow my own perceptions to affect the most critical

²⁴⁷ The California Department of Education website: <http://www.cde.ca.gov/pd/ca/hs/prisourcedocrepositories.asp>

²⁴⁸ <https://praad.gov.gh/index.php/national-archives/>

²⁴⁹ Ibid., L., Cohen, L., Manion, and K., Morrison, *Research methods in education (5th Edition)* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

²⁵⁰ Ibid., Cohen et al., 2011.

²⁵¹ Coghlan, David, and Mary Brydon-Miller, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Action Research*, vols. 2 (London, 2014).

parts of the study such as data analysis and discussion because these sections require a high sense of objectivity.

My passion and personal classroom experience on this topic might have influenced my choice for some primary and secondary sources including books, articles, newspapers, and images of interest. However, these choices are intended to ensure that the true picture and accurate detail of events during colonial education is covered from a critical policy analysis and postcolonial perspective. The use of multiple methods allowed triangulation and thus, serves as a means to increase confidence in my findings.

Data Analysis

It has been argued that there is no one best method of analyzing data in a research study.²⁵² However, researchers must be extremely careful at this point since the analysis of historical data involves logical processes rather than statistical ones and therefore the possibility of subjectivity arises.²⁵³ Scholars have suggested researchers consider the method appropriate enough to “fit for purpose.”²⁵⁴ Using a historical research approach, my analysis was accomplished by applying the frameworks discussed in the literature review to the missionaries and colonial government documents.

From the 16 policies introduced by Guggisberg from 1919 to 1927 based on the adopted educational models, ten which are most relevant to this study were analyzed through a critical

²⁵² Ibid., Cohen et al 2007.

²⁵³ Ibid., Laxami 2007. Historical composition is a synthetic and constructive process that involves the mechanical problem of documentation, logical problem of arrangement of topics and subtopics, and philosophical problem of interpretation. The organization of historical documents can also be done in topical, thematic or functional arrangement and the writing for history document demands careful avoidance of following factors: Oversignifying facts, Overgeneralizations from insufficient evidence, failure to distinguish between significant and trivial facts, tendency to use secondary data, personal bias, failure to interpret words and expressions in light of their usage in earlier times.

²⁵⁴ Christy Teresa, “The methodology of historical research: A brief introduction,” *Nursing Research* 24, no. 3 (1975)

lens. Outlining three steps of conducting historical research, Christy identified the criticism of data collected as an important step to review documents gathered. She indicated the analytic process of document review as a two-way activity, giving rise to external and internal criticism to establish validity and reliability of a study. External criticism according to Christy, establishes the authenticity of source and the genuineness of the data collected. It concerns itself with data relating to form and appearance rather than meaning of content to establish validity.²⁵⁵ During the research process, the researcher ascertained all the documents gathered were original and secondary written accounts were accepted as valid. To ensure reliability, I examined each document to make sure that the meaning of fact and the statements was clearly understood, as internal criticism according to Christy weighs the testimony of document in relation to truth.²⁵⁶

Policy Analysis

Using thematic analysis²⁵⁷ the study adopted the deductive approach²⁵⁸ to conduct analysis by applying the frameworks discussed in the literature review to the ten colonial policies identified as most relevant to the study. Cohen et al.²⁵⁹ have argued that, when conducting analysis in qualitative study, researchers should consider patterns, themes, categories, and regularities. To identify the themes in the policy documents, I followed the steps developed by Braun and Clark.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Ibid., Christy 1975.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., Christy 1975.

²⁵⁷ V., Braun and V. Clark, "What can thematic analysis offer health and wellbeing researchers," *International journal on qualitative research on health and wellbeing* (2014), 9. Thematic Analysis is "the process of segmentation, categorization, and relinking of aspect of data prior to interpretation" See also: Braun and Clark 2014.

²⁵⁸ Deductive approach involves coming to the data with some preconceived themes you expect to find reflected there, based on theory or existing knowledge. <https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/thematic-analysis/>

²⁵⁹ Ibid., Cohen et al 2007

²⁶⁰ Ibid., Braun and Clark 2014

After familiarizing myself with the policy documents, I affixed short hand labels usually called codes²⁶¹ to describe their content. Next, I looked at the codes, identified patterns among them, and came up with themes,²⁶² these were guided by the research questions.

Finally, the interpretation and analysis were guided by the research questions, based on the specific themes which emerged from the policy documents.

Limitation of the Methodology and Research Process

There were some limitations of the methodological and research process. First, the unavailability of written documents on western-type education in Gold Coast by Natives who experienced British colonial education is the major limitation to this study. Due to this, I was not able to gather documented eye witness experience and perspective on the topic. A few writes ups on this subject came many years after colonial rule and were written from a third person perspective.²⁶³

The researcher's location during the study also placed some impediments on finding some manuscripts, archival materials, crafts, and artifacts. Conducting this research from United States of America (USA) during the Corona Virus (COVID 19) pandemic, when lots of restrictions have been placed on travels coupled with restricted accessibility to document housing facilities, made it difficult for the researcher to travel to Ghana for data from the Public Records and Archives Administration of Ghana (PRAAG), and the National Museum of Ghana. Even

²⁶¹ Codes allows the research to gain a condensed overview of the main points and common meaning that recur throughout the data. <https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/thematic-analysis/>

²⁶² Themes are usually a combination of several codes, which makes them broader than codes. Codes which don't appear very often may be considered vague or not relevant enough. Other codes might be themes in their own right, in this case some other themes may be incorporated into it.

²⁶³ These persons either gathered information from eye witnesses who had some experience and/or were told of such experience.

though some information was accessible on the housing facility's website, they were limited in content and emails requesting for additional information proved futile.²⁶⁴

Owing to the span of the research study thus, from 1919 to 1927, some information from primary sources like personal papers, diaries, images, published writings, newspaper accounts, and legislative records were not accessible while others which were available had lost pages. In relation to government documents for example, the political transition from being colonized to an independent nation and the few Coups d'état experience in Ghana did not help to maintain most of the surviving historical school archive especially by the colony. As a matter of fact, many private historical archives have been held by missionaries abroad and the few materials stored in the local religious archives may not be accessible to the public. Due to this, fewer articles and publications have been available from a handful of known historical research scholars²⁶⁵ who have had access to some of these original documents, and even at a later date from the call of decolonizing Ghanaian education.

As with other research methods, historical educational research also has its own limitations in general.²⁶⁶ Significant are the gaps in primary sources and difficulty of evaluation in terms of authenticity and validity.²⁶⁷ These challenges take away some valuable materials and information which affected the study to some extent.

Last but not least, the online Archives of California (OAC) did not have unpublished collections available online or on open shelves. These documents were kept in secure store, and

²⁶⁴ I guess this was due to the limited work force at the facility to ensure social distancing coupled with volumes of emails. Family members and friends in Ghana who followed up on my behalf could not get access into the facility due to restrictions.

²⁶⁵ Example of such phenomenal historians is Ibid., J. H. Nketia 1953.

²⁶⁶ Thomas H. Briggs, "Limitations and Proposals: Research in Education," in *The Phi Delta Kappa Vol. 46*, no. 3 (1964), 99-103. See also Eileen Abeles and Xan Lin, "Digital Library Education Lab" *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science Vol. 51*, no. 2 (2010), 120-124.

²⁶⁷ This is seen in the transition from internal to external criticism which cannot be distinguished clearly as argued by G. H. Good in his "Historical Research in Education" *Educational Research Bulletin Vol. 9*, no. 2 (1930), 39-47.

could be accessed by placing an order for the item. Unfortunately, these collections were not available for use on loan.

Summary

This chapter detailed the methodology for this research. The research design and methodical assumption were mentioned, as well as the methods used in data collection. The research validity and reliability were discussed and the researcher's bias were explicitly stated. Data analysis and the approach employed in the analysis process were described. Also, the limitation of the methodology and the research process were all acknowledged.

Chapter 4 - Research Findings

Introduction

The need for research in the area of educational policy in general has been suggested by several sources²⁶⁸ because of its association with human resource and national development. Human resources developed through the educational system depend on the formulated educational policy expanding to maximize the capacity of the educational system to prepare the human resource supply for any nation.²⁶⁹ Research on educational policy in British colonial territories suggested by Gordon C. Ruscoe²⁷⁰ and E. Christian Anderson²⁷¹ have both implied that discussions on educational policy in former British colonial territories cannot be completely meaningful without referring to the British colonial education policy itself, or the nature of its formulation, and implementation.

As indicated earlier in Chapter 1, this study advances the educational policies/model characterizing British education in Gold Coast-Ghana, its affordances for the colonizer, and constraints on the colonized. This is climaxed by the impact such policies/model have made on educational and socio-economic development of Ghana. To achieve the purposes of the study, the research was guided by three questions; (1) What educational model characterized British education in Gold Coast from 1919-1927? (2) What were the affordances and constraints of the educational policies/model for the colonizers and the colonized from 1919-1927? (3) How did these policies/model impact education and socio-economic development of Ghana from 1919-1927?

²⁶⁸ The international Institute for Educational Planning for example has been one of the major advocates in educational policy planning and formulation.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., Wiafe 2021.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., Gordon C. Ruscoe 1963: 121.

²⁷¹ Ibid., James Clatworthy 1965.

In this chapter, the findings and analysis of the study were elaborated with the research questions outlined in Chapter 1 in consideration. The chapter begins with the appointment of Governor Guggisberg to the Gold Coast colonial territory, followed by the genesis of educational policy in the colony. Policies and school curriculum introduced for enactment by the Governor and colonial office are enumerated, after which findings and analysis for each research question is delved into.

Data for the study was gathered using historiography methodological approach, combining critical policy analysis and post-colonial theoretical frameworks, and historical research in education methodology. The research used primary, secondary, and archival sources to gather data content. Next, I looked at the codes, identified patterns among them, and assigned themes.

Gordon Guggisberg to the Gold Coast

From 1919 to 1927, the British Crown appointed Gordon Guggisberg as governor of the Gold Coast after he had worked as a surveyor for the colony from 1902 to 1908. His era saw a proliferation of educational improvement policies and programs that were a critical ingredient in the development of the Gold Coast. Even though preceding governors realized the need for educational empowerment and had committees investigate and make recommendations for reforms, most of the recommendations were not implemented. Thus, I deduce this is because Guggisberg's predecessors chose to amass wealth and do trade rather than educating the Gold Coast child. However, Guggisberg, who represented colonial government interests, also saw to the implementation of formulated policies under his governorship as he was interested in improving the educational system to provide education to the children of Gold Coast.²⁷² To him, the main policy of the Gold Coast government was the general progress of the people toward a

²⁷² Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

higher state of civilization, and education in the colony is the first factor in the main policy.

Guggisberg added, there are other factors, but they all contributed to education. It is therefore not surprising that soon after assuming the governorship, Guggisberg declared education his priority. He insisted on allowing every Gold Coast child to morally and materially advance by equipping them with the knowledge to succeed. The governor emphasized that native children should not be denationalized, rather, they should be trained in their national characteristics, which are the best attributes of civilization.²⁷³

To help him achieve his vision, in 1920 Governor Guggisberg established a committee charged with evaluating past educational efforts, the reasons for their success or failure, and to report on the entire educational policy governing education in the native nation, the Gold Coast.²⁷⁴ The Governor was saddened by the findings of the committee's report, which made him remark that the system of education in this country is "rotten to the core."²⁷⁵ Not only was it inadequate in not going far enough, but it proved insufficient in its results.²⁷⁶ The various Christian missionaries and European settlers mentioned in Chapter 1 of this study had different policies and curricula used in their various schools. These were not enough to meet the needs of the Gold Coast community and the growing interest in western formal education by the natives. Very few people had access to their type of education, usually based on their religious affiliation and or the prestigious positions of their parents (chiefs, Mulattos-children of native women from European parents). Due to this situation observed by the committee some recommendations were made, but for this study, I highlighted three.

²⁷³ Ibid., H. O. A., McWilliam 1962.

²⁷⁴ Great Britain, Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa, 58. Guggisberg indicated in his speech, "I cannot attempt to convey to Honorable Members the intense feeling of satisfaction which the formation of this committee gave to those who are deeply interested in the welfare of the African races when they realized that education is in future to be conducted on a permanent policy".

²⁷⁵ See; David Williams, "Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Education Reforms in the Gold Coast, 1919-1927," *Comparative Educational review* vol. 8, no.3 (University of Chicago Press, 1964), 290.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., David Williams 1964.

First, the committee recommended that English should be introduced as a subject in the early years of schooling. In the Governor's words, "the Gold Coast had no written literature of its own; its languages are diverse and numerous. For both reasons a common language must be adopted and that language must be English."²⁷⁷ However, the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction. To ensure the proper implementation of this recommendation, a publication officer was appointed to oversee the preparation and printing of vernacular textbooks.²⁷⁸ One could argue this recommendation was based on the Basel Mission policy of teaching the African in his or her language.

Second, the committee recommended the establishment of teacher training colleges to produce professional teachers for African children. This recommendation can be linked to the Governor's comment that there was an universal demand of education by the people and "to comply hastily with this demand at the present moment would be fatal,"²⁷⁹ for the reason that "we do not have an educational staff sufficiently trained to carry out the work efficiently."²⁸⁰ He emphasized, "to trust the future of the race to insufficiently trained leadership in education would be far worse than having no education at all."²⁸¹ Reacting to this recommendation, Guggisberg announced in agreement, "this then, is our immediate task-the provision of well-trained teachers, instructors, and professionals from among the African."²⁸²

²⁷⁷ Ibid., Guggisberg 1921.

²⁷⁸ Great Britain, Colonial Office: Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies "A preliminary Memorandum on the Aims and Methods of Language Teaching in the Colonies," London, 1930.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 7.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 8.

²⁸¹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 6

²⁸² Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 9. Inadequate because it fails to provide facilities for that secondary and higher education which is essential...and Inefficient since the character-training necessary to citizenship and leadership has been largely omitted in the existing system: and because the actual primary education in our schools has seriously failed to give good results except in comparatively few instances. These words were used exactly in a speech two years later at the opening of the Achimota School, January, 28, 1927. Gold Coast Gazette 25 April 1927.

The committee also recommended that the government should establish a secondary boarding school for boys. Reflecting the committee's recommendation, Guggisberg argued in his book, "if secondary schools are to produce leaders, they must be residential thus boarding schools where character-training takes the first place in the curriculum."²⁸³ The Governor felt these virtues could more likely be developed in a boarding school than a day one because the contact between staff and students in a boarding school would be more intimate and continuous. This is why Guggisberg, who was much into character-training, had been most favorably impressed by a recent report of the American Phelps-Stokes Foundation, which emphasized the importance of "grafting the simple virtues on children, not by teaching out of books but by developing sound habits of thought and action by means of actual practice and repetition carried out for several years."²⁸⁴

With this recommendation from the Phelps-Stokes Commission and others in respect to education they perceived met needs of the people, it was inevitable that the individuals responsible for formulating the British Colonial education policy like Governor Guggisberg would be singularly attracted by the then United States based Phelps-Stokes Commission reports and the recommendation made by Dr. T. Jesse Jones, the head of the Commission.

American Support for British Advisory Committee

A significant event in 1920, which also contributed to educational development in the Gold Coast, was the visit of the Phelps-Stokes' African Education Commission to West, South, and Equatorial Africa. This visit was necessary at the time when there was growing demand for

²⁸³ Ibid., Guggisberg 1921. This recommendation led to the establishment of the Achimota School with the whole aim of giving the whole education locally, and, where it is essential an African should go to Europe for the final step to enter a profession.

²⁸⁴ Jones, Thomas Jesse, 1873-1950: "Education in Africa: a study of West, South, and equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission," *Under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and foreign mission societies of North America Phelps-Stokes Fund*. See also: African Education Commission and International Education Board 1920-1921).

information on educational philosophies and methods that might be relevant.²⁸⁵ So it was the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society which officially requested, through the North American Missionary Conference, that the Phelps-Stoke Fund send a commission.²⁸⁶ After the news spread about this request, several other missionary societies in the USA also expressed interest in the Phelps-Stokes' Commission and promised financial support.²⁸⁷ Upon the acceptance of the invitation by the commission, J. H. Oldham, secretary of the Conference of Missionary Society of Great Britain and Ireland, assured the Phelps-Stokes' commission that the British missionary societies and British Government Officials in the field "would undoubtedly be in every respect cooperative."²⁸⁸ Upon acquiring unprecedented support from missionaries, academia, and government, the commission departed for Africa.²⁸⁹ The Commission's report, published in 1922, received enthusiastic praise and high regard almost unanimously. It was in this regard that Sir Gordon Guggisberg during the delivery of speech at the review of events in the Gold Coast expressed his thoughts that "the most important event that has occurred in the history of the progress of the African people is the publication of the Phelps-Stoke Commission's report."²⁹⁰ Dr. Jesse Jones was the leader-chairman of this New York-based organization which aimed to investigate educational conditions and needs of Africans for the advancement of Negroes'

²⁸⁵ People involved in educational conditions in Africa, including missionaries, and government officials were a part of the group which demanded education that is relevant to the African.

²⁸⁶ Minutes of the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, 28 Feb 1919, Archives of the Division of World Mission and Evangelism, Inter-Church Center, New York. 56.

²⁸⁷ Among missionary societies in U.S.A contributions to the fund included financial support from Baptist Church, North (\$2,000); Methodist Church, North (\$ 2,000); Disciples Missionary Boards (\$ 1,000); Episcopal Church (\$1,000-2000); and United Brethren (between \$500 to 1,000). Minutes of the Board Meeting, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, January 17, 1920, the Phelps-Stokes Fund Collection, New York

²⁸⁸ Sir Gordon Guggisberg, "Review of the Events of 1922-1923," speech made at the Legislative Council, Gold Coast Government.

²⁸⁹ It is worth mentioning that, after the first Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1920, two additional commissions were sent from America to investigate African educational practices and conditions until the mid-40s. These massive efforts to transfer American education were backed by philanthropic organization in the northern United States. They were driven by a feeling of moral responsibility as veteran promoters of Black education and financial power. Cited from; Ibid., Shoko Yamada.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

education. Besides him, Dr. Jesse Jones, the member who was most responsible for the success of the commission and an equally important person was Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey ... This native-born Gold Coaster, Dr. Kwegiri Aggrey, spent 22 years studying and teaching in the United States,²⁹¹ and became the interpreter for the commission and also served as the link between Black and White communities in Africa.

The Commission's report criticized the existing educational system stating it was "out of touch with the life of the community and that the curriculum was too bookish."²⁹² So, they recommended bringing the entire community into line with what was being taught in missionary, Government, and Government assisted schools.

The report also emphasized the need for girls' education,²⁹³ character training, rural improvement, and secondary schools. The recommendation that education must train native people as leaders to serve their communities was amplified. Dr. Jones told Governor Guggisberg about the two primary educational needs of the Gold Coast Colony: "Expansion of the school system, and a curriculum with a more vocational bias."²⁹⁴ Guggisberg echoed this when he said, higher education by itself will not solve the problem of the country. He emphasized it must be

²⁹¹ Dr. Kwegiri Aggrey is one of few African scholars who had the opportunity to be sponsored to further studies in the United States in 1920 by Paul Monroe, a member of the Phelps Stokes Fund. With the purpose to return for a research expedition to Africa to determine which measure was necessary for the improvement of education in Africa. Dr. Aggrey's cavitating speech delivered persuaded Governor Guggisberg that Achimota College should be co-educational: In his words, he stated "The surest way to keep people down is to educate the men and neglect the women. If you educate a man, you simply educate an individual, but if you educate a woman, you educate a whole nation." "Education in Africa," (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922).

²⁹² Jones, Thomas Jesse, "Education in Africa". (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922). This criticism resonated with the Governor who believed that "More important still is the demand of the educated African of the existing literate classes for an education and training that will fit him to take a greater share in the development of his Land." Guggisberg, (1924), 15.

Ibid., 5. From my analysis, I can say Great Britain's colonial education policy within the period was a heuristic design for investment in human form resources formulated with an eye on preserving what was best in indigenous cultures and calling for the advancement of the whole community.

²⁹³ Ibid., 38. The 1920 Educationists' Committee recommends the formation of a "Training College for Women Teacher to provide the staff for our Girls' schools and to replace the men at present in charge of infant classes." Also, the Church Missionary Society. "Conference on the Education of African Women" London echoed it during their international Missionary Conference in 1925.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 39.

“accompanied by a better system of training in handcraft, agriculture, and all those trades that go to provide the necessities of a community: for although higher education may be the brain of a country, its productive capacity is its heart.”²⁹⁵

With regard to character training,²⁹⁶ the leader of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Jesse Jones practically said, “there is no definite syllabus, but that whatever system is adopted, whether infants’ schools, primary school, trade schools, or secondary schools, we must endeavor to graft the simple virtue of perseverance, thoroughness, order, cleanliness, punctuality, honesty, and respect for parents.”²⁹⁷ As Dr. Jesse Jones said, these virtues cannot be taught out of books; they must be developed by sound habits resulting from days, weeks, and months of actual practice and repetition.²⁹⁸ This is the implication of inferiority; people must be indoctrinated to the dominant culture.

The Phelps-Stokes Report fired up a new interest, and in 1923 the Colonial Office established a permanent advisory committee to work on educational problems. Guggisberg in pursuance to achieve his fundamental objectives of developing the men and women who would become the leaders of their own country announced his educational policies in sixteen principles, most of which contained many of the Phelps-Stokes’ recommendations and those from the advisory committee.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924, 7. The Gold Coast governor went on further to ask, of what use is the brain without the hand. Of what use is the brain if the heart ceases to beat? Guggisberg, 1924. 8.

²⁹⁶ The governor emphasized the need for this when he wrote in his book “it is evident character -training must take a predominant place in our system of education, for the simple reason that no nation whatever can afford to omit it from the curriculum of its school. Especially in the phase when the influence of home life is generally retrogressive so far as modern civilization is a concern.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., Jones Thomas Jesse 1922: 7.

²⁹⁸ Guggisberg who saw lots of sense in what Dr. Jesse Jones mentioned of character training, felt that these were achievable and comparatively easy to develop the above virtue in students of a boarding school under the guidance of house-master and instructors who themselves had their character developed. He acknowledged that it is far more difficult in a day school, especially when we consider the general backwardness in the civilization of the day student's home.

²⁹⁹ A major emphasis and recommendation from both the advisory committee on education and the Phelps-Stokes Commission was the need for policy continuation and strong cooperation between the government and the missions Ibid., Jones Thomas Jesse 1922.

The policies which were enumerated to the Legislative Council in 1925 were as follows:

1. Primary education must be thorough and be from the bottom to the top.
2. The provision of secondary schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university.
3. The provision of a university.
4. Equal opportunities to those given to boys should be provided for the education of girls.
5. Co-education is desirable during certain stages of education.
6. The staff of teachers must be of the highest possible quality.
7. Character training must take an important place in education.
8. Religious teaching should form part of school life.
9. Organized games should form part of school life.
10. The course in every school should include special references to the health, welfare, and the industries of the locality.
11. A sufficient staff of efficient African inspectors of schools must be trained and maintained.
12. Whilst an English education must be given; it must be based solidly on the vernacular.
13. Education cannot be compulsory nor free.
14. There should be cooperation between the Government and the Missions, and the latter should be subsidized for educational purposes.
15. The Government must have the ultimate control of education throughout the Gold Coast.
16. The provision of trade schools with technical and literary education that will fit young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens.³⁰⁰

With the passage of the Education Ordinance in 1925, guidelines were established for the education of Gold Coast children. Out of all the sixteen principles³⁰¹ making up Guggisberg's educational policies, ten are most relevant to this research. The researcher made reference to these most relevant policies while addressing the research question.

What educational model characterized British education in Gold Coast from 1919-1927?

This section seeks to answer research question 1, by identifying the educational model which characterized British education in the Gold Coast for this research period.

By the early 1920s in Gold Coast-Ghana, colonial government had no uniform educational model, although there were some replicas for mission schools, these were mostly based on the practices and standards of their various European country. As explained in Chapter

³⁰⁰ Ibid., cited in H. O. A., McWilliam 1962.

³⁰¹ To ensure validity and reliability, all sixteen principles were quoted verbatim.

1, education was entirely dominated by missionaries, then later the colonial government. But as enrollment increased in mission schools and as more people began accessing education, the bookish nature of the school curriculum was criticized and described as denationalizing the indigenous people. This is why every party felt the urgency of setting the framework and standards of educational practice—that would develop the colony rather than set them back. But what model? and where to find the model? were the issues.

The growing demand for information on appropriate educational models that might be relevant in the Gold Coast, among people involved in educational works³⁰² and the indigens, led to the Baptist Foreign Mission Society officially requesting through the North American Missionary Conference that the Phelps-Stokes Fund send a commission.³⁰³ In 1920, the Phelps-Stokes Fund based in New York sent a commission, who was received with a welcome and assurance by Oldham, the Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, stated that “the British missionary societies and Government officials in the field would undoubtedly be in every respect cooperative.”³⁰⁴ The Commission’s presence in the Gold Coast³⁰⁵ initiated a new period of America’s commitment to Gold Coast-Ghanaian education, one characterized by massive transfer of knowledge. As a result, it didn’t come as a surprise that the Commission’s report published in 1922 received enthusiastic praise, and high regard almost unanimously.³⁰⁶

³⁰² These people were missionaries, colonial government officials, the minor European groups, and Native Elites

³⁰³ Minutes of the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, 1919, Archives of the Division of World Mission and Evangelism, Inter-Church Center, New York. As cited by Kenneth King, “Pan-Africanism and Education: a study of Race, Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and Africa,” (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1971), 56.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., James Clatworthy 1965.

³⁰⁵ I must indicate that, even before this invitation and arrival of the commission, American missionaries has been active in some part of Africa. However, their activities were not systematic as what transpired following the Phelps-Stokes’ Commissions.

³⁰⁶ For instance, Guggisberg in his speech on the review of events to the Legislative Council in 1922 emphatically stated, one of the most important events that has occurred in the history of the progress of the African people is the publication of the Report

Model Characterizing British Education in Gold Coast-Ghana

Agricultural, Industrial, and Vocational Education

Agricultural, Industrial/Vocational education was a major model characterizing British education in the Gold Coast colony. This educational model, which appealed to the Guggisberg administration and the British colonial office, stemmed from those promoted by American philanthropists, the Phelps-Stokes Fund. This type of vocational education was originally designed for American Blacks, advocated against filling the brains of students with book knowledge and fostering aspiration for White-collar jobs.³⁰⁷ Because this model didn't want to detach students from the society they belonged, the content of education was meant to be practical, and adaptive to the people of Gold Coast, their community, and the available resources. The colonial office ascertained the US practice as appropriate for the Gold Coast people, and to them, because Britain as a colonial power had tremendous responsibilities to the colony, it was important to work with those who were facing and dealing with a not wholly similar but analogous "problem" in the Southern States of America.³⁰⁸ This aspect of American Black agriculture and Industrial education appealed to the Governor and the colonial office, which caused them to adopt the model of education based on the education at Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes.³⁰⁹

British-Bourgeoisie System

There was also a product of the British-Bourgeoisie model which aimed at educating socially lower people in their local context for the various political interests. This practice was modeled after the British social class that owned the means of production during early

³⁰⁷ Because they didn't want to detach students from the society to which they belonged.

³⁰⁸ W. G. A. Ormsby -Gore, Speech at the dinner for Thomas Jesse Jones. Series 1-2 General Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center housed by University of California.

³⁰⁹ Shoko Yamada, "Educational borrowing as negotiation: Re-examining the influence of the American Black industrial education model on British colonial education in Africa," *Comparative Education*, no. 44 (2008): 21-3

industrialization in Britain, and whose societal concern were the values of property and the preservation of capital to ensure the perpetuation of their economic supremacy in society. In the nineteenth century, the surfacing of the urban working-class brought concern among the bourgeoisie who felt the urban working class needed to be trained as disciplined workers. This move was geared toward preventing social unrest by keeping the young workers in schools for a long period.³¹⁰ What was to be taught and length of school were determined by the bourgeoisie.

What were the affordances and constraints of the educational policies/model for the colonizers and the colonized from 1919-1927?

This section addresses research question (2). It provides the main finding about the affordances of colonial educational policies/models for the British and the contrariant of same on Gold Coast during the Guggisberg Era.

Affordances of Policies/models for the Colonizers

The educational model which characterized British education in the Gold Coast from 1919-1927 led to the colonial government's 16 educational policies which afforded the colonizer:

Cultural Imperialism/assimilation was an important colonial education idea, which involved the colonized being forced to conform to the culture and traditions of the colonized. Cultural assimilation was most effective because the colonial government, through the quest to develop men and women who would become the leaders of their own country and granting the call by indigenous people for a uniform educational system, paved the way for the assimilation

³¹⁰ Early education and vocational training for the working group expanded in London in the nineteenth century after the Elementary Education Act of 1870. This was at the time colonialization was at it pick, making same easy to transfer to the colony. See: David Rubinstein, *School attendance in London, 1870- 1910: A Social History* (Hull Publisher, 1969); Also, Jane Lewis, "Parents, children, School Fees, and London School Board 1870-1890," *History of Education vol. 11, no. 4* (1981), 291-312. As cited in Ibid., Shoko, Yamada 2008.

of the indigens.³¹¹ This gave the colonizing government the opportunity not to necessarily control everything in the Gold Coast physically, but set the scene to control them mentally by implementing educational curriculum comprising reading, writing, religious instruction, with the later addition of physical education, grammar, arithmetic, and manual labor (for agriculture/industrial purposes). Through this, the colonial government absorbed the Gold Coast into the metropole and made from her children a category of persons with English taste, opinion, and morals.³¹²

Lands for plantation farming and mining purposes were amassed by colonizing individuals and colonial government under the pretense of providing agricultural, industrial, and vocational education. The people of Gold Coast had already consented to this educational system and believed it was meant for them to be civilized, develop, and be parrel with the British. So, the chiefs and traditional rulers who were mentally being controlled by the colonizers agreed for them to choose vast lands for plantation farming and gold mining. Guggisberg acknowledged “the Gold Coast had great agricultural wealth and trade far greater in proportions than any other tropical unit of the British Empire.”³¹³ This agricultural wealth produced for the British raw cash crops and gold minerals exported in trade.

Cheap manual labor was readily available because labor had been ingrained through the school curriculum. The Gold Coast child, like the young Englishman in England, was made to understand as part of their education that manual labor was essential and not disgracing to an educated man.³¹⁴ The colonizer started using the indigenous people as cheap manual laborers (in

³¹¹ Gail P. Kelly, and G. Philip Altbach, “Introduction: The Four Faces of Colonialism,” *Education and the Colonial Experience*. Ed. See also; Gail P. Kelly and Philip G. Altbach. New Brunswick: Transaction, 1984: 1-5.

³¹² Ibid., David Williams 1964

³¹³ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 6.

³¹⁴ W. H. Watkins, “The architect of Black education: I ideology and Power in America 1865-1954” (New York, 2001). While educationists stressed the advantages of agricultural and industrial education it was strictly governed by the concurrent conditions of life for blacks in the White dominant society. This education promoted in the American south defined the “character development” of students as one of its goals. However, little emphasis was

the guise of providing vocational training and apprenticeship) on their plantation farms, which produced cash crops like cotton, wheat, and coffee as well in their mining fields for gold.

Because the barter system was the main means of trade among the indigenous people before colonization and still existed to some extent during colonization, laborers who provided services on colonial plantations and mines saw themselves better off when they were paid in cash and food rations.

Raw materials from plantation farms and mines due to the hard work from cheap laborers, produced large quantities of raw materials for British and other European overseas industries and their citizens. The focus on cash crop and extensive mining for British industries, usually overseas, increased production for the crown colony thus, bringing her more wealth. Acknowledging this in his book, the Governor boasted “the annual increase of trade has naturally been accompanied by a steady increase of wealth.” He continued that “until today we are far richer per head of the population than any of our neighbors.”³¹⁵

Ready Market was available to the colonizer due to the adopted educational model, policies, and school curriculum, which ensured the acceptance and high regard for everything British. Final products from the exported raw materials were re-exported to the Gold Coast and sold at exorbitant prices. Other finished goods like wine, sweets, mirrors, textiles, guns, and gun powders, which were manufactured in Britain, also had a ready market. Such products were used to affirm the educational model and to make the natives believe they could produce the same with the educational system in practice, just as it’s done in Britain and in other parts of the world. For the indigenous person, it was a source of pride to own a product or goods made from Britain.

given to the development personal strength. It was to make black students’ useful members of the larger society—that they should be well adapted to its values, recognize their position in it, and play the expected role. In sum, practical, society-oriented vocational education for the Black reflected the collective will of the White population to preserve the status quo, or slow and minor change.

³¹⁵ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 6.

Constraint of Policies/model on the Colonized

Colonial government's educational policies/model during the Guggisberg era placed some constraints on the colonized leaving them with:

A limited sense of the past was a major limitation of the policies/model on the colonized resulting from cultural imperialism/assimilation. School curriculum was disconnected with the community because indigenous cultural heritage and practices were not taught. The curriculum became the same as the English, which stripped the colonized people away from their indigenous learning structures while drawing them to that of the colonizer's.³¹⁶

Loss of lands as vast quantities were amassed by individuals associated with the colonial office and colonial government itself under the pretense of providing agricultural, industrial, and vocational education. The people of Gold Coast had already consented to this educational system and believed it was meant for them to be civilized, develop, and be equal with the British. So, most chiefs, traditional rulers, and other custodians of lands willingly agreed for them to choose vast lands for plantation farming and gold mining. Natives who lived in these areas either lost their land or were unable to live off it.³¹⁷

Cheap laborers—once individuals and colonial governments began creating farms and mining companies, they needed people to work on them, so they started using natives as cheap manual laborers. The people of Gold Coast were made to understand as part of their education that manual labor was essential and not disgracing to an educated man. However, working conditions were terrible with low wages.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Ibid., McWilliam 1962.

³¹⁷ Ibid., McWilliam 1975.

³¹⁸ Pimpong Ewurama, *Interactions between Education, Economy, and Politics: A case of Ghana's Educational System from a Historical Perspective* (NORGES HANDELSHOYSKOLE, 2006)

Taste for foreign goods—due to the acceptance and high regard for everything British by the people of Gold Coast. Cultural assimilation gave the colonizing government the opportunity to control everything in the Gold Coast physically and also mentally through the curriculum comprising reading, writing, religious instruction, physical education, grammar, arithmetic, and manual labor. This led to the breeding of people who were blacks in color but English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect.

How did these policies/model impact education and socio-economic development of Ghana from 1919-1927?

In this section, the findings for research question 3 are presented. I indicated earlier that the model of education by colonial government influenced the sixteen policies enumerated by the Governor to the Legislative Assembly in 1924. Out of the sixteen, ten most relevant to this study were considered.

The 10 policies listed below are in order put together by the researcher and not as they appear in the policy document presented by the governor. Each policy is, however, stated exactly as it appears in the policy document for the purpose of originality.

1. The provision of secondary schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university.
2. Character training must take an important place in education.
3. Religious teaching should form part of school life.
4. Organized games should form part of school life.
5. The course in every school should include special references to the health, welfare, and the industries of the locality.
6. Whilst an English education must be given; it must be based solidly on the vernacular.
7. Education cannot be compulsory nor free.
8. There should be cooperation between the Government and the Missions, and the latter should be subsidized for educational purposes.
9. The Government must have the ultimate control of education throughout the Gold Coast.
10. The provision of trade schools with technical and literary education that will fit young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens.

The first policy here was concerned with the provision of secondary school education suitable for and prepare the young Gold Coast man and woman for university. This Guggisberg pointed out about the construction of a proposed new model school at Achimota in Accra, Ghana where intermediate university work also was offered. The young men and women would then further studies on scholarship in British University until there was sufficient demand that justified the establishment of an indigenous university.³¹⁹

The second, third, and fourth policies dealt with the quality and type of education offered in schools, i.e., “Character training”, “Religious teaching”, “Organized games”, and the special reference to “Health, welfare, and industries”. Here the Governor’s concerns were granting the “simple virtues on children, by not teaching out of book but by developing sound habits of thought and actions by means of actual practices and repetition carried out for several years.”³²⁰ Guggisberg believed these virtues could most likely be developed to capacity if students were kept in boarding schools. He perceived there would be close contact between staff and students and boarding schools would be more intimate and continuous than day schools.³²¹ Governor Guggisberg also felt religious teaching was an important part of character training however, he emphasized Government schools which generally provided education to a larger population would not be affiliated with any sect. In his words, he stated “Religious teaching in Government Schools means the teaching of religion, not of the dogma of any particular denomination.”³²² He said parents and students who were not satisfied with what Government schools provided could seek entry into boarding-schools run by their own missions. Games were of essence to the Governor as he perceived they improved the health of students and also offered them

³¹⁹ Ibid., Guggisberg, 1924.

³²⁰ Ibid., Guggisberg, 1924.

³²¹ Ibid., Guggisberg, 1924. Even though the Governor also believed some good deal of work could be done in day schools, he feared they would be interrupted by indigenous training, skills, and customs.

³²² Ibid., Guggisberg, 1924.

opportunities. The Governor added games should not be carried in excess. He stipulated a boy in primary school should take part in games two to three times a week since the students were still growing and must not be overtaxed. He, however, insisted students at the secondary school should take part in organized games five or six days a week.

The fifth policy, which stated the course in every school should include special references to the health, welfare, and the industries of the locality, was in reference to the importance of the curriculum to the needs of the environment. How the promotion of wellbeing of the community could be part of the students and the need to relate work in the schools to the employment needs of the areas in which they were located. The Governor believed the serious unemployment was due to contempt for manual labor. He stated in order to inculcate a proper respect for traditional activities, each Government school would include a course which works to pursue the life and welfare of the town or village of its location.

On the use of English language, the Governor insisted that “while English education must be given, it must be based solidly on vernacular.”³²³ He justified this essential policy with the statement “a language cannot be taught to a child by making him repeat by memory certain sounds the meaning of which he does not understand.”³²⁴

Next is the policy that education cannot be compulsory nor free. In Guggisberg’s view, “the adoption of compulsory education in this country at the present time is manifestly impossible”³²⁵ because of the cost involved. The Governor backed this with the facts that, between 1910 and 1920 the annual expenditure on education had increased from ₹ 17,000 to 140, 000 and the expenditure may rise in due course to perhaps half a million. Guggisberg then

³²³ Ibid., Guggisberg, 1924.

³²⁴ Ibid., Guggisberg, 1924.

³²⁵ Ibid., Guggisberg, 1924.

questioned “where are these funds to come from”? In his opinion, “compulsory education may come in due time, but the time was unripe.”³²⁶

The ninth and tenth policies stamp the authority on who finally and fully controls education in the Gold Coast. The Guggisberg administration suggested that there should be cooperation between the Government and missions, and the latter should be subsidized for educational purposes. By this, the Governor implied the missions were responsible for opening a number of schools, which were at best inadequate. He added, “their Christian zeal carried them further than their educational capacity.”³²⁷

The last policy states the Government must have ultimate control of education in the Gold Coast. This control implied by the Governor was necessary to ensure that “school buildings were healthy, had properly qualified teachers employed and that a fixed and standard primary education is maintained throughout.”³²⁸ This policy came with the assurance that if there had to be a budgetary reduction in any government’s sector and department at all, education must not be affected.³²⁹

The above is the overview of the policies essential to the research.

Positive Impact of the Policies/model in Ghana from 1919 to 1927

Findings from the study identify what follows as positive impacts of the colonial educational policies/model in the Gold Coast through the research period.

Improved Infrastructures resulting from colonial Government ensured that fundamental facilities and systems that supported the education of Gold Coast children were healthy. Infrastructures such as state school buildings portrayed in Figure 4.3 missionary school

³²⁶ Ibid., Guggisberg, 1924: 20.

³²⁷ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

³²⁸ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

³²⁹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

buildings (Mfantispim School), Government schools (Accra Government and Achimota School and library), railway lines (built as Western lines from Seckondi to Kumasi then through the Eastern line to Accra), and Ports/harbors (including Secondi Port and Takoradi harbor) saw some boost, upgrades, and new additions. In his book, the Governor acknowledged the works on roads, railways, and harbors were to increase trade from which proceeds were used to provide educational needs. Most of these facilities through expansion and renovation works are still serving a good percentage of Ghanaian students and economy all over the country.³³⁰

New farming systems were introduced as part of the curriculum in order to fulfil the intended policies that prepared young men to become skilled and useful citizens by making special reference to the resources in their various localities. As indicated in Chapter 1 of this study, the indigenous people depended on resources in their community for survival, which were mostly subsistence farming and fishing purposefully to feed their families and a few for barter trade and sales. The colonial school agricultural model, policies, and school curriculum led to the introduction and practice of plantation agriculture and gardening, a type which was previously not practiced. From 1919 to 1927, many large plantations emerged and this new system of farming became generally accepted as an addition. Also, most colonial boarding secondary schools had farms or were attached to farm set ups, where students acquired practical farming skills to complement knowledge gained in the classroom as shown in Figure 4.4 with some lessons taking place on the farm. At the junior trade schools for instance, “every boy is also taught to grow his own food in a garden form.”³³¹ Food crops and animal produce were used to feed or subsidize feeding for students and the remaining were sold to generate funds.³³²

³³⁰ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 22.

³³¹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 45.

³³² Each year when the sum of funds for these schools became less, the student’s and school gardens which were into full bearing were practically self-supporting regarding food.

Higher education became the target of colonial government after primary education. Guggisberg's assertion in his policies that "provision of secondary schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university"³³³ led to the laying of the keystone for Achimota School, described then as the new "model school."³³⁴ Achimota was to serve as a continuation from primary school and to begin as an intermediate university to promote technical education and engineering. From here students, continued to British universities on scholarship until an indigenous university was established in the Gold Coast. The desire for higher education was kindled and the few successful natives made it to Achimota School.

Additional crops different from the known indigenous ones like cocoa, cassava, plantain, cocoyam, yam, and pawpaw were introduced into the Gold Coast, bringing some variation to their cultivated crops. These new crops, mostly cultivated on a large scale for commercial exports, included, tea, barley, wheat, cotton, coffee and rubber. Cocoa, an indigenous crop, was also cultivated on large plantations for export and further processing.

English Language was introduced to the people of Gold Coast through this educational system. The Governor stipulated that, whilst an English education must be given; it must be based solidly on vernacular. Based on this policy, aspects of English reading, writing, and grammar were introduced and taught in schools in addition to other subjects like arithmetic. This enhanced trade and work between British and natives, while giving the Ghanaian an alternative language, which is now its official language, globally recognized and accepted.

³³³ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

³³⁴ Ibid., McWilliam: 61. A higher and wider description than those already existing.

Negative Impact of the Policies/model in the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927

Inferior/miseducation was provided in the classrooms, which only intended to give the usual general education in literature required to develop the intellect and make a good citizen.³³⁵ The usual education and training to enable men and women of the Gold Coast to enter any trade or profession was what was intended by the Government composed of men of European civilization for a primitive people in tropical Africa. Guggisberg emphatically stated, “as the language of the people of Gold Coast gradually increase, until they can think in English, so can the highest form of education be given to him.”³³⁶ That said, because the policy did not make education compulsory nor free, it was rare and only a few indigenes who were exceptionally intelligent received scholarship or those who could afford gained entry into the university level in England.

The Governor remarked, “like secondary school, the university must come in due course even if we combined with other West Africa Colonies, I believe that we should not find enough sufficiently educated students to fill it at this particular period.”³³⁷ The focus now was on only providing primary education to ensure people entered higher institution later. Guggisberg mentioned to the legislative council during the presentation of his educational policies that “Our chief task today lies in increasing the efficiency of education in our primary schools sufficiently to ensure a flow of suitably educated scholars to the higher institutions of tomorrow.”³³⁸ The interest in getting the Gold Coast child to the university largely contributed to her miseducation, as what they needed to become useful craftsman and leaders to enable them tap their resources and cultivate their arable land were not taught to them. Even though the Governor confessed

³³⁵ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

³³⁶ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 20-26.

³³⁷ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

³³⁸ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 27.

hearing arguments that Government should direct its energies in the field of education to the wider extent of practical training in agriculture, the various crafts, and vocation (as typical of Hampton and Tuskegee-British Bourgeoise model), he vehemently disagreed.³³⁹ He emphasized it was necessary to provide higher education for the natives of this country. The men and women of Gold Coast-Ghana received education, but not what prepared them to tap their natural resources or arable lands for economic growth and national development.

On same theme, Nana Ofori Atta, Paramount chiefs, and other chiefs of the Eastern region in 1926, for example, passed a resolution expressing their dissatisfaction with the type of education given to their sons and daughters. The chiefs were unhappy with the increasing emphasis on “games” in schools. Findings from this research data shows that the governor directed primary schools should have games 2-3 times a week while at the secondary school 5-6 days a week were devoted to games in schools. Speaking to the issue, the resolution passed by the chiefs addressed this as “whilst appreciating the importance of games in the development of youthful life, it is the opinion of this conference that undue importance is now being attached to sports and, as a consequence, pupils have no time to master their work at home before appearing at school in the morning, which is serious as far as elementary and secondary education is concern.”³⁴⁰ The chiefs also attributed the greatest drawback of the students’ performance in comparison with the past as due to the low standards of the new curriculum of the primary school.³⁴¹

Indigenous Language was lost resulting from the teaching of reading, writing, grammar in schools and the use of English language as the main means of communication in the Gold Coast. Even though the policy stipulated by the Governor said that English education must be

³³⁹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 28.

³⁴⁰ As cite by David Williams, 1964.

³⁴¹ Ibid., David Williams 1964.

given and it based solidly on vernacular, he also noted the country “has no written literature on its own; its languages are diverse and numerous.” For both reasons, “a common language must be adopted, and that language must obviously be English.”³⁴² The Governor then directed a “sound and thorough knowledge of the English language-its speaking, understanding, writing, and composition must be the first factor in education.”³⁴³ This directive negatively imparted the initial plan to teach the various indigenous languages in schools. In Wesleyan missionary boarding schools, for example, a student seen speaking a language other than English was punished by the housemaster because they emphasized the use of English as a medium of communication and instruction in their schools.³⁴⁴ Again, the ordinance intended to make vernacular the medium of instruction at the primary level was not wholly accepted by the Gold Coast “elites” and a section of the indigenous people because of the numerous languages in Gold Coast-Ghana.³⁴⁵ They felt it would retard progress of their sons and daughters at the secondary school and university level since English was to be the main means of communication and it was difficult to learn a new language at that age. The “elites” of Gold Coast-Ghana felt it was a deliberate attempt to give their sons and daughters an inferior education so they didn’t become like the British³⁴⁶ since the sign of being educated was mastery of the English language. A combination of these factors made it easier and over time written and spoken English became the full language of instruction and means of communication in schools.

Unemployment and Inferior positions became the major problem of the Gold Coast from 1919-1927. When Ormsby Gore surveyed education in the colony in 1926, he noted the

³⁴² Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 19-20.

³⁴³ Ibid., Guggisberg 1927: 20.

³⁴⁴ K.D., Ofori-Attah, “The British and curriculum development in West Africa,” *A historical discourse. Int. Rev Educ.* 52, (2006): 409–423

³⁴⁵ Ghana is a highly multilingual nation in Sub-Sahara Africa. It has about 50 indigenous languages but the major ones spoken across the larger group are Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagaare, and Dagbani. See; Kulick, D. *Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).

³⁴⁶ Ibid., David Williams 1964.

most important fault of the Guggisberg educational system was that it was not geared to the employment requirements of the colony.³⁴⁷ Not securing employment after being educated was a major problem due to the nature of education which was most suitable only for positions as clerks, storekeeper, and interpreters as shown in Figure 4.8. In the words of the Governor, “the literacy education imparted is generally speaking, only suitable for qualifying a boy who is leaving school to become a clerk or storekeeper.”³⁴⁸ He further stated, “we are at present turning out annually some 4,000 to 5,000 boys who are only fitted to be clerks, and, what is worse, the majority of whom could not from their education, be anything but inferior clerks.”³⁴⁹ Guggisberg also acknowledged criticism by sections of British colonial workers that “educating the indigenous person was deliberately interfering with European employment in the Gold Coast.”³⁵⁰

Contempt for manual work was evidenced in Gold Coast-Ghana during the Guggisberg era because of disdain for it by Gold Coast natives. The professions that required manual labor as stated earlier were usually paid less and for those who worked on plantations, they were sometimes paid with farm produce. Professions in the administrative sector were decent with somewhat better pay. Manual work was despised because of the value placed on it in terms of wages; this became a great disincentive to those who were studying for such jobs. This revealed what the governor’s policy, “the course in every school should include special reference to the health, welfare and industries of the locality”³⁵¹ intended and how the experience was when it was implemented. Gold Coast-Ghana however needed manual laborers to enhance its economic

³⁴⁷ G. B. Kay and Hymer Stephen, “The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana, A collection of documents and statistics 1900-1960” *Modern Revivals in African Studies*, (1972), 278.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 24.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 24-25.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 10.

³⁵¹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

development due to her vast arable land and mineral reserve. Guggisberg admitted “we are flooding the market with semi-educated youths who have disdain of manual labor.”³⁵²

Loss of cultural identity and religious practices for indigenous people because components of the Gold Coast cultural identity and heritage became less evident in the school curriculum. The policy that gave the colonial government ultimate control of education throughout the Gold Coast mandated her to control what was taught and how it was taught.³⁵³ This was to ensure a uniform standard of education given to all, so in an attempt to do this, a uniform curriculum was adopted throughout the country, ignoring the prevailing cultural practices in the various areas. School curriculum taught to the men and women who were to become leaders of their own country did not include lessons of their various cultural heritage, practices, and identity of their own land and kinsmen. In mission schools for example, the indigenous cultural practices were criticized and described as primitive, pagan, and barbaric, i.e., not conforming to the teachings and bible practices.³⁵⁴ Mission schools succeeded in propagating these messages not only in their churches but also in the classroom through religious studies. This was possible because one of the colonial government policies on education insisted that religious teaching should form part of school life while government schools implemented curriculum like that in England. The Basel and Bremen missionaries, who were initially supportive of the use of vernacular in their schools, were not sympathetic to the native’s culture.³⁵⁵ Traditional rites, beliefs, values, and celebrations of many cultural fundamentals such as clothing shown in Figure 1.9 and 1.10 of Chapter 1 were misconstrued as unhealthy. Native children who attended mission and government schools were obligated to adapt to the European

³⁵² Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

³⁵³ Ibid., Ernestina Wiafe 2021.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., Ernestina Wiafe 2021.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., Ernestina Wiafe 2021.

standards of dressing depicted in Figure 4.3,³⁵⁶ culture, and values.³⁵⁷ In boarding schools, a student could be expelled for wearing an unapproved school uniform. While the native child was taught by his elder to believe their traditional gods were in control of their lives, at school, the child was told these gods were evil and had no place in the kingdom of God.³⁵⁸ With this, the indigenous child did not acquire and develop the sociocultural skills that were relevant to their immediate community and their cultural heritage eluded them. These demeaning messages made the students ashamed of their culture and tradition. This deculturalization paralleled what happened to Indigenous people in Native American boarding schools between the 19th and mid 20th centuries in the United States.³⁵⁹ The same can be said about the impact of the boarding school system on Aborigines in Canada and Australia.

Preference and taste for foreign goods and services impacted the social, cultural, and economic development of Gold Coast-Ghana due to colonial educational policies and curriculum. The anglicization of indigenous people, presented as a sense of civilization, impacted the traditional way of living and taste for goods and services. As stated above as an affordance, the Gold Coast territory became a ready market for British produce where finished products like jewelry, rings, bracelets from gold, cloths, suits, and dresses from cotton, shoes from animal skin, canned foods and drinks, etc. were preferred over locally made ones. Worthy Indigenous families and individuals kept their prestige and association with these goods because they perceived them as a sign of civilization. With time, the Gold Coast men and women who were trained to become an African in skin but British in thought and taste looked at most things indigenous with contempt, describing them as inferior. This was bound to happen considering

³⁵⁶ European dressing at Achimota School

³⁵⁷ Ibid., Moumouni Abdou 1986.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., Ofori Atta 2006.

³⁵⁹ Adams, David Wallace, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

that in schools, the native child was obligated to adapt to the European standards of dressing, speaking, and values. Guggisberg acknowledging this expressed concern about the contempt with which the literate African, educated-usually semi-educated in the primary school clad in European clothes.³⁶⁰

Break of family system and sense of community was a result from the boarding school system, which was intended to imbibe virtues of perseverance, thoroughness, order, cleanliness, punctuality, honesty, and respect into the men and women who were to become leaders of their nation. As noted by Dr. Jesse Jones of the Phelps-Stokes African Educational Commission, and engaged by the Governor, these virtues cannot be taught out of books; they must be developed by sound habits resulting from days, weeks, and months of actual practice and repetition.³⁶¹ Gordon Guggisberg was of the view that “it is comparatively easy to develop the above virtues in the student of a residential school under the guidance of the house-master and instructors who have themselves had their character developed”³⁶² than it would be instilled in students in day schools. This is how the colonial government adopted the boarding school system, which was not different from that of the missionaries. The boarding schools helped the Guggisberg administration through their educators to dismantle the bond between native students and their traditions.³⁶³ Here, students were not allowed to sing their indigenous songs, speak their native language, nor observe any traditional event. There was also little or no contact with their families. Students needed a permit called *exeat*, to leave the school’s premises which were to be signed by the house master, else they could be expelled from school for leaving campus without permission. In this way schools succeeded in imposing foreign practices in the name of

³⁶⁰ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 42.

³⁶¹ Ibid., Jesse Jones 1922.

³⁶² Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

³⁶³ Ibid., Ernestina Wiafe 2021.

civilization and this subjugated Gold Coast indigenous practices. This boarding school practice can be likened to the experience of Native children in America which began in 1860. The goal of the reformers was to use education to “assimilate” Indian tribes into the mainstream of the “American way of life”.³⁶⁴ Like the British, colonial government assumed it was necessary to “civilize” the native people, to make them accept white beliefs and values.³⁶⁵ Indigenous music, dance, and art were banned from the curriculum; the missionaries specifically realized it would be difficult to convert local people to Christianity because these things held them together and gave them a sense of community. The missionaries made a conscious attempt to create a separation between the native convert and their communities. The Basel missionaries, for example, created separate communities they called “Salem” or “Kristom” within the villages and towns for their new converts so their new faith would not be contaminated by their pagan relatives. The Methodist Missionary Society, which started the Mfantshipim school, had its solid foundation for progress laid by Rev. R. A. Lockhart in 1925, ensured to move the “Faithful Eight”³⁶⁶ shown in figure 4.7. to the present site of the school from Kwabotwe Hills.³⁶⁷

Lack of industrialization came about largely due to the policy to provide secondary schools with educational standards to prepare young men and women to enter a university. The focus on getting the Gold Coast child to the university and not training them for the manpower necessary for her development, made scholars who earned for white colored job and producers of raw materials. Ghana, with her numerous untapped resources, needed an education to equip the inhabitants to tap those resources and process in local industries. The Guggisberg administration

³⁶⁴ See: J. Spring, “The American School 1642-2004” 6th Edition (McGraw Hill, 2005).

³⁶⁵ Ibid., Spring 2005.

³⁶⁶ This name was given to the new converts by their then headmaster Balmer who supervised them in school while receiving colonial education. Their royalty to the missionaries as the only boys in the entire school earned them the name “Faithful Eight”.

³⁶⁷ S. Tenkorang, “The foundation of Mfantshipim 1905-1908,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 15, no. 2, 165-175.

wanted to provide a model secondary school for university education thereby needed to increase revenue, and the only way he found to do so was to increase trade. To him, “ it was from our trade and the customs duties that we could derived revenue needed to fund the model school.”³⁶⁸ He then suggested to increase trade, and those things on which trade depended like agriculture, forestry, roads, railways, and harbors which he assumed for that moment were of great importance from the point of education funding.³⁶⁹ In carrying out this policy, more attention was paid to trade where the natural gold and cash crops were exported to England and other European nations over setting up industries to process the same in Gold Coast-Ghana. The policy to provide trade schools with technical and literacy education to prepare young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens provided education for these young men only to earn a living and not to work in local industries or supported to start their own industries for national development. These young men received only craft education to produce and extract resources for the colonial government.

Summary

The chapter began with the British Crown’s appointment of Guggisberg’s as a Governor to the Gold Coast, then account which led to the genesis for the need of educational policy in the colony was given, followed by narrative of America’s support for British education in Gold Coast. Guggisberg’s 16 Policies and school curriculum enumerated to the legislative assembly were outlined, out of which the 10 most significant to the study were given overviews. Also in this chapter, findings for the three research questions guiding the study were detailed under themes after I affixed codes and identified patterns.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., Guggisberg 1927: 10.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1927: 21.

With research question 1, findings showed British education in the Gold Coast from 1919-1927 was characterized by a combination of Hampton -Tuskegee and British – Bourgeoisie Models.

Research question 2 revealed two sets of findings. The first section addressed the affordances of the policy/model for the colonizer which were cultural assimilation, lands for plantation farming and mining, cheap manual labor, raw materials, and ready market. The second part enumerated the constraints of the policy/model on the colonized which were seen in the light of limited sense of the past, loss of lands, cheap laborers, and taste for foreign goods.

Lastly, findings for research question 3 were grouped into positive and negative impact of the policy/model on Ghana for the research period. The findings from the study were improved infrastructure, new farming systems, higher education, additional crops, and introduction of English language as positive impacts. And the negatives were, inferior/miseducation, language lost, unemployment, contempt for manual work, loss of cultural identity and religious practices, preference and taste for foreign goods and services, break of family system and sense of community, and lack of industrialization.

Below in figure 4.1 is a quick view of chapter 4. The researcher can say the study has divulged some relevant findings.

Chapter 5 which follows, discusses the key findings of the study through interpretation and analysis and how they relate to the literature.

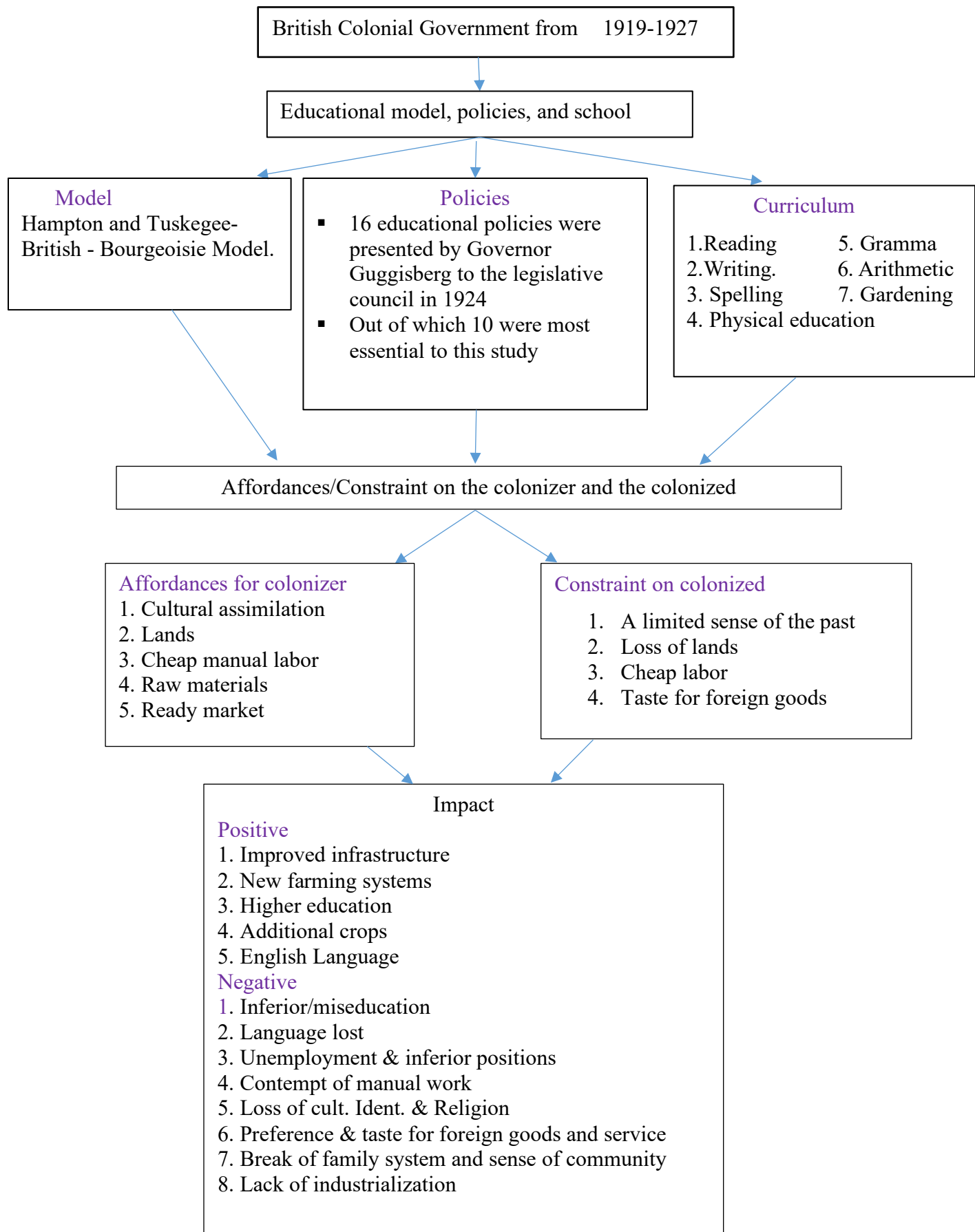


Figure 4.1. A quick view of the finding by the Researcher



Figure 4.3. Infrastructure like Accra Government school. (<https://i.pinimg.com>)

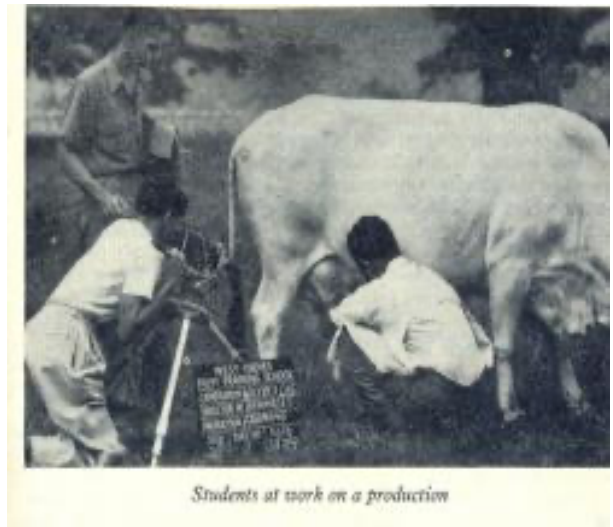


Figure 4.4. Students at work on a farm production (<https://lh3.googleusercontent.com>)



Figure 4.5. Front view of the model Achimota School (<https://cdn.modernghana.com>)



Figure 4.6. Manual workers on plantation farms (<https://media.nationalgeographic.org>)



Figure 4.7 European dressing at Achimota school
<https://i2.wp.com/ghanaianmuseum.com>



Figure 4.8 Manual laborers
<https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com>

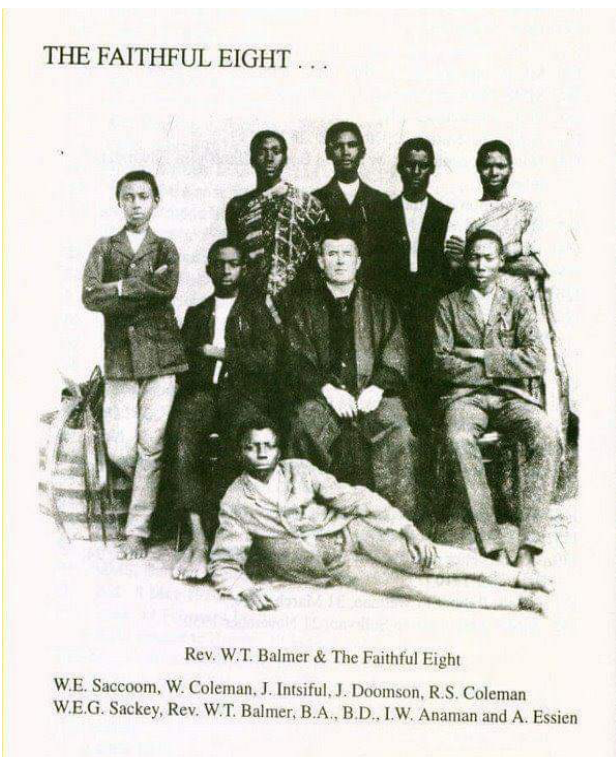


Figure 4.9. The faithful eight with Rev. W.T. Balmer
<https://www.primenewsghana.com>



Figure 4.10. Picture of Clerks in European clothing
<https://i.pinimg.com>

Chapter 5 - Summary, Interpretation, Analysis, and Discussion

Introduction

Some amazing works have been done generally on education in Gold Coast under the British colonial administration, but very little study is known specifically on educational policies and curricula within the research period in Gold Coast-Ghana. The researcher agrees with the need for research in the area of educational policy, as suggested by several sources³⁷⁰ because of its association with human resource and national development. Contributing to the discourse, I believe human resource developed through the educational system depends on the formulated educational policies, expanding to maximize the capacity of the educational system to prepare the human resource supply for any nation.³⁷¹ Research on educational policies in British colonial territories as suggested by Gordon C. Ruscoe³⁷² and E. Christian Anderson³⁷³ have both implied that discussions on educational policy in former British colonial territories cannot be completely meaningful without referring to the British colonial education policy itself, or the nature of its formulation, and implementation.

As mentioned in early chapters, this study advances the educational policies/model characterizing British education in Gold Coast-Ghana, its affordances for the colonizer, and constraints on the colonized. This is climaxed by the impact such policies/model have made on educational and socio-economic development of Ghana. To achieve the purposes of the study, the research was guided by three questions; (1) What educational model characterized British education in Gold Coast from 1919-1927? (2) What were the affordances and constraints of the

³⁷⁰ The international Institute for Educational Planning for example has been one of the major advocates in educational policy planning and formulation.

³⁷¹ Ibid., Ernestina Wiafe 2021.

³⁷² Ibid., Ruscoe 1963:121.

³⁷³ Ibid., James Clatworthy 1965.

educational policies/model for the colonizers and the colonized from 1919-1927? (3) How did these policies/model impact education and socio-economic development of Gold Coast -Ghana from 1919-1927? Data for the study was gathered using historiography methodological approach, combining critical policy analysis and post-colonial theoretical frameworks, and historical research in education methodology. The research used primary, secondary, and archival sources to gather data content. Next, I coded the data, identified patterns among them, and assigned themes.

This research aimed to contribute to the call of analyzing colonial educational policy and curriculum to reconceptualize the past and present events and initiate a transformational shift following Jacques Derrida, M. Omolewa, and Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o's traditions.³⁷⁴ Findings from this study serve as elements for educational policy formulation and curriculum development for governments, policy makers, educators, administrators, teachers, and students by helping them to appreciate, understand, and critically analyze how past events have shaped the present educational policies and curriculum. A study on history of colonial educational policies and curriculum developments critically analyzed in respect to the period when the Gold Coast had a proliferation in educational development, a kind which was never experienced in the then British Empire, affords stakeholders the opportunity to know the past mistakes and predict future problems with the view to making the necessary changes for an improved educational system.

This chapter summarizes, interprets, analyzes, and discusses the key findings of the research, how they relate to the literature review and seen through the theoretical frameworks detailed in Chapter 2.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., Jacques Derrida 1978: Ibid., M. Owolewa 2007: 594-612; Ibid., Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o 1986.

Summary of Findings

With research question 1, findings indicate British education in the Gold Coast from 1919-1927 was characterized by agricultural, industrial, and vocational education modeled after American Black education at the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, and the form of education adopted by British–Bourgeoisie for the working class.

Research question 2 resulted in two sets of findings. The first addressed the affordances of the policy/model for the colonizer: Cultural imperialism/assimilation, lands for plantation farming and mining, cheap manual labor, raw materials, and ready market. The second enumerated the constraints of the policy/model on the colonized seen in the light of limited sense of the past, loss of lands, cheap laborers, and taste for foreign goods.

Lastly, findings for research question 3 were grouped into positive and negative impacts of the policy/model on Ghana from 1919 to 1927. From the study, improved infrastructure, new farming systems, higher education, additional crops, and introduction of English language were all positive impacts. And the negatives were inferior/miseducation, language lost, unemployment/inferior positions, contempt for manual work, loss of cultural identity and religious practices, preference and taste for foreign goods and services, break of family system and sense of community, and lack of industrialization.

Interpretation, Analysis, and Discussion of Key Findings of the Study

What educational model characterized British education in Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927?

The agricultural, industrial, and vocational education, modeled after American Black Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes in the United States of America during the early 19th century, stemmed from America's Phelps-Stokes Commission's recommendation to the Gold Coast Advisory Committee. While the British-Bourgeoisie model started as an early education and

vocational training for the working group in British rural communities and later expanded throughout London in the nineteenth century after the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Based on these finding the researcher infers, the British educational model in Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927 was characterized by the Hampton–Tuskegee and British-Bourgeoisie Models. This inference is consistent with that of Yamada, who noted the model of industrial education exported to Africa, for example, was based on the education at Hampton-Tuskegee Institutes.³⁷⁵

From the researcher’s perspective, the agricultural and industrial education in the Gold Coast arrived at was in the context of the management of race relations between the British and natives, and likely the Guggisberg administration saw success with North America’s handling of Black Americans, thus welcoming the Phelps-Stokes Commission’s recommendation on this model of education. Comparison of the finding with those of other studies by Yadama Shoko confirms Dr. James Kwegiri Aggrey a native of Gold Coast, after studying at a Wesleyan Mission School, sailed to the U.S. and received his education at the Hampton Institute and Teachers College, at Columbia University. After thirty years in the U.S., he joined the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commissions to Africa from 1920 to 1924 as the sole Black member. “He was an eloquent speaker and made numerous addresses before native and European groups, endeavoring to foster better race relations.”³⁷⁶ This got him lots of praise, and had Jesse Jones, the then chairman of the commission commenting in an interview that “Dr. Aggrey is really of very great value in helping the Black people to understand the Whites and the Whites to understand the Blacks...it would be worthwhile for the white people to keep Dr. Aggrey

³⁷⁵ Ibid., Yamada 2008: 21-3.

³⁷⁶ Washington’s Atlanta Speech, delivered on September 18, 1895. 209-210: *The Southern Workman* May 1922. 209-212 as cited by Yadama 2008.

permanently in Kenya to explain the White people to the natives.”³⁷⁷ This thereby effectively relegated Dr. Aggrey to a status similar to that of Booker T. Washington.

It is possible there was a conception that this model which succeeded in practice elsewhere in North America and Britain was the way to create a better race relation and prevent conflict. Jesse Jones confirmed this assertion when he claimed “we are not interested in quarrels but in encouraging a type of education that in the long run makes for sound relationship.”³⁷⁸ To buttress this is the report of other studies in this area linking to Booker T. Washington, the founder and first principal of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and a trainee of the Hampton Institute “Cast down your bucket”³⁷⁹ story. As a primary black promoter in North America’s agricultural and industrial education, his “Cast down your bucket” story was often cited in the white media as indicative of his ability as a race mediator.³⁸⁰ To broadly support linking the educational model to Africa is the literature by Spivey who indicated “Tuskegee students-or “Captains of Industry” as Booker T. liked to call them-were welcomed in Colonial Nigeria, the Belgian Congo, South Africa, and throughout British East Africa in the early twentieth century.”³⁸¹ It can be recalled in Chapter 2 that as a common practice in British Colonial Africa, what succeeded in one colony was easily replicated in another, therefore it is highly likely the presence of Tuskegee students in these other African countries could have also played a role in the Gold Coast Governor’s decision for the Phelps-Stokes’s Commission’s recommendation.

³⁷⁷ Phelps-Stokes Tribute East Africa Standard 3 March, 1924. Folder 155 Box 11 Series 1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives No. 26, Rockefeller archive Center.

³⁷⁸ Thomas Jesse Jones, quoted in “The Education of the African: Personalities& Principles of the Phelps-Stokes Commission East African Standards 2 February, 1924. Folder 155 box 11 Series 1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives No. 26, Rockefeller Archive Center.

³⁷⁹ The story goes as follows “A ship was lost at sea for many days. Each time other ship passed nearby, the passengers asked for water, but the answer was always “cast down your bucket where you are”. Finally, dying for thirst, the passengers cast down their bucket. What they pulled out was a fresh sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. The moral lesson of the story was that, if they pay attention, there were many things’ Blacks can do to better their situation other than complaining.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., Yadama 2008.

³⁸¹ Ibid., Spivey 1978:1-17.

With that said, one can argue if the model adopted intended the purpose explained above, then it equally carried the marginalization that sought to fit and maintain the existing social structure, as was the case in North America between White and Black Americans. Spivey argues, while the model and curriculum were designed in Europe and North America, the colonial powers of Africa who were dominantly the British adopted this approach of education and life for natives that stood for black acquiescence and obedience to the status quo.³⁸² The existing social structure of White supremacy, privilege, authority, and ideology of Said's Orientalism sets a binary discourse between the systems(s) in which the 'world' is divided, administered, and plundered into groups by which 'we' are 'human' and 'they' are not, have set the rest of the world to the margins. Comparison of the finding with the racial caste system prevalent in North America prior to Civil Rights Act for example was exported to Africa, with apartheid in South Africa providing a mirror as noted in the literature review. In South Africa for example, a de jure racial hierarchy divided the population into four groups: whites, Indians, colored, and black Africans. Rights and benefits were allocated according to this hierarchy, with whites being most advantaged and black Africans being most disadvantaged. This comes to terms with the research theoretical framework CPA explaining how groups come to be marginalized through policy and how unequal distribution of wealth and capital economics, cultural, and social standards can be maintained through policy for social reproduction. As with every aspect of social, political, and economic life under apartheid, education was racially stratified through policy and systems.

³⁸² Ibid., Spivey 1978.

What were the affordances and constraints of the educational policies/model for the colonizers and the colonized from 1919-1927?

Cultural imperialism and assimilation as an important colonial education affordance generally impacted every aspect of the indigenous people and their livelihood in Gold-Coast Ghana and expanding British colonial territories. Literature has generated interesting debates around the nature of imperialism diffusion and the relationship between the ‘center’ and the ‘periphery’, the extent to which imperial influences were beneficial and the ways in which these influences played out in different nations and areas in Africa.³⁸³ The situation where the colonized were lured to conform to the cultural and traditions of the colonizer through the school system intending to civilize them accords with Foucault’s assertion that “Any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along the power which they carry.”³⁸⁴ The affordances of these policies and curriculum benefited the colonizer numerous in land for plantation farming and mining, cheap manual labor, raw materials, and ready market. It is encouraging to connect these findings to George Urchs’ summary in his work *Education and Colonialism in Kenya*, which identified that, “the policy of granting huge tracts of land to the wealthier settlers (who of course were Europeans) brought a great demand for African help of all kinds.”³⁸⁵ The need for skilled native labor by white settlers caused the colonizers to reconsider the educational program in Kenya. Making connections and giving meaning, the researcher determined this transfers as to why Jesse Jones said by way of commending and recommending that “Dr. Aggrey is really of very great value in helping the Black people to understand the Whites and the Whites to understand the Blacks...it would be worthwhile for the white people to keep Dr., Aggrey permanently in Kenya to explain the White

³⁸³ Ibid., McCulloch 2009: 169-79

³⁸⁴ Ibid., Foucault 1984: 123, as cited in Christie Pam 1990.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., Urch, 1971: 249-264.

people to the natives.”³⁸⁶ This bears remarkable similarity to Booker T. Washington’s status with white philanthropists in the USA.

Like the Gold Coast, when the British settlers realized the benefits and worth created through trade for themselves and their overseas nations, they saw the necessity of training natives for their service. This might have defeated the purpose of earlier educators like the missionaries who intended to introduce Christianity and bring a primitive people to civilization through the school system. The ability to change focus of the colonies’ educational program for the service of the colonizer is the power of the center making policies which determines who gets what, when, and how.³⁸⁷ I must agree with Çağrı that “the colonizers share the idea that education is important in facilitating the assimilation process.”³⁸⁸ This can also be deduced from Thomas Babington Macaulay’s statement:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.³⁸⁹

How did these policies/model impact education and socio-economic development of Ghana from 1919-1927?

Regarding the extent to which imperial influences were beneficial and the ways in which these influences played out in different nations and areas in Africa, the researcher was surprised about the positive impacts of these policies and model in Gold Coast-Ghana. Contrary to expectations, improved infrastructures, new farming systems, higher education, additional crops,

³⁸⁶ Ibid., Phelps-Stokes Tribute East Africa Standard 3 March, 1924.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., Carpenter 1939.

³⁸⁸ CPCR 1999: 268, as cited by Çağrı, T., M. “How did British Colonial Education in Africa become a reason for Decolonization?” 2nd *International Symposium on Sustainable Development*, June 8-9, 2010 Sarajevo: 363.

³⁸⁹ Ibid Çağrı, T., M. 2010: 362.

and English language were all benefits that the colonized gained from these policies/model. Very little is said about these positive impacts as post-colonial scholars and most African historians turn to focus on the several negative impacts that decivilized, brutalized, degraded, and brought about race hatred from colonialism through policy marginalization.³⁹⁰

Surprisingly, the quest to provide western formal education to the colonized by the British colonial administration in Gold Coast-Ghana within the research period, did not only lead to higher education as the Guggisberg administration encouraged secondary and university education, but also through the building of schools and classroom blocks like Achimota School, Accra Government School, and Gold Coast Hospital (now Korle Bu Government Hospital). Again, the provision of road systems, railway network (western lines built to connect the port of Sekondi to European gold mines and latter extended to Kumasi while the eastern line connected Kumasi from the capital city Accra, through the port to Sekondi port and Takoradi harbor.), water supply, and electric lighting³⁹¹ were all positive impacts of these policies, model, and curriculum. Analytically these were good moves which served and continues to serve the socio-economic needs of Ghana; however, one could argue these infrastructural developments were done in the context of interest convergence³⁹² built by the British for themselves and for other European settlers. An example is Gordon Guggisberg acknowledging that, the works on the roads, railways, and harbor were necessary to increase trade, from which proceeds were to be used to provide educational needs. This is proof that, if the Gold Coast had no resources to provide proceeds, these infrastructures wouldn't have been provided.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., Aimé Césaire 1972; Pedro 2015.

³⁹¹ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924.

³⁹² Interest convergence Is the idea that “the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interest of whites”- Derrick Bell,

Again, even though the provision of education as connected to infrastructural development and trades may make sense, the researcher is of the view, proceeds the colonial government, and their local and overseas companies accrued from the extraction of mineral resources and fertile farm lands far outweigh the infrastructural development they provided. Per Guggisberg's statistical information provided to the legislative council in 1924 and as stipulated in his book between "1910 and 1920 annual expenditure on education increased from ₦ 17,000 to 56,000 and from 1921 to 1924 it reached ₦ 120,000 while within the same period revenue through trade increased from 1.5 million pounds per annum to 3.5 million pounds."³⁹³ It is therefore convenient to say, the revenue which came in within the same period was much more than the annual expenditure on roads, railways and harbors—things that were assumed at the moment as great importance from the point of view of education.³⁹⁴ Remi and Alexander are of the view these infrastructures were built by "Whites for Whites."³⁹⁵ In concert with their assessment, I agree this is so true since the infrastructures provided were not wide spread throughout the country, but in areas that have mineral deposits, European gold mine companies, timber, cocoa production, plantation farms, and the seat of government. Although Guggisberg indicated these were to aid trade so proceeds would go into education, they were only situated in areas that would service colonial government interest in terms of access, transportation, and export of raw material extracted and produced from Gold Coast-Ghana. That notwithstanding, the majority of these infrastructure having undergone various expansion and renovation works by subsequent independent governments continue to serve the good people of Ghana. A major one is the Korle Teaching Hospital which unveiled Gordon Guggisberg's statue as shown in Chapter 1 and the Achimota School which has produced and continues to produce great leaders such as

³⁹³ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924, 21.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924, 21.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., Remi and Alexander 2012.

Osagefo Dr., Kwame Nkrumah the first president of Ghana, Edward Akufo-Addo one of the founding fathers of Ghana who engaged in the fight for independence, and later became a Head of State, Jerry John Rawlings the longest serving Head of State of Ghana, and Professor John Evans Atta Mills, all of blessed memory.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, indigenous people depended on resources in their community for survival. Those who had fertile land got into farming and those by water bodies fished. However, all of these ways of farming were purposefully to feed their families and little for barter trade/sales. Through the Hampton-Tuskegee-British Bourgeoise model, policies to ensure the use of resources in the various communities, and through classroom curriculum, new farming systems and crops were introduced to natives. Plantation agriculture, cash crop farming, and gardening were all new farming systems introduced to natives of the Gold Coast which were used as teaching and practical sessions, and also to supplement feeding for boarding schools. Literature has it that gardening, which became part of the curriculum, was mostly the growing of vegetables rather than flowers. This is also consistent with Bude, who noticed many boarding schools in Africa had their own gardens and cash crops farms,³⁹⁶ which even helped to meet the feeding of students especially at the time when African schools received very little funding from the government.

Thus, following from this, the policy and curriculum which introduced and taught new farming systems and brought new crop species boosted the economy of Gold Coast–Ghana. This, however, from an analytical point proves otherwise. Post-colonial studies have demonstrated that the policy and practice rather turned the African economic structure changing its focus.³⁹⁷ Agreeing with Bude once again, I argue that plantation farming and cash crops introduced were

³⁹⁶ Ibid., Bude 1983.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., Bude 1983.

only to meet industrial needs of European countries. For instance, cocoa, coffee, tea, and cotton which were the main cash crops grown on large scale were for export and trades. This then likely shifted focus on food needed for basic survival, thereby leading to hunger in some communities, as their fertile lands were those sold to rich settlers for plantation farming or taken for European settlers who sought to provide agricultural education. It is interesting to relay that most of these crops cultivated by indigenous people were exported and prices set by the colonizer.³⁹⁸ Policies were in place to prevent Indigen from growing these cash crops to benefit themselves,³⁹⁹ indeed they couldn't have engaged in such farming systems because it was capital intensive. Indigenes were prevented from cultivating and at the same time their lands were taken from them. They could neither continue these farming systems nor expand their indigenous farming practices, which was a double loss. Even though Leopold Senghor perceived the relationship between the center and periphery could complement each other and provide a point of entry for both the British and natives,⁴⁰⁰ the case was not so, as policies were made to regulate the indigenous people resulting in inequalities produced by such policies.

The ways in which imperial educational influences played out in different nations and areas in Africa is informative. Like other parts of Africa, the Gold Coast's experience did not play out well as the effect of the negative impact on natives is enormously significant. In Gold Coast-Ghana, the Guggisberg administration's educational model, thought-provoking educational policies, and school curriculum did not accomplish what was intended. What the policies said were different from what the policies did. What went on between the period of policy formulation and implementation is an interest for future research.

³⁹⁸ <https://www.lcsnc.org>

³⁹⁹ <https://www.lcsnc.org>

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., Leopold Senghor 1992.

With the Governor's intent to produce men and women who would become leaders of their own country, the Guggisberg administration ultimately provided inferior/miseducation to the indigenous people which contributed to language lost, unemployment and inferior positions, contempt for manual work, loss of cultural identity and religious practices, preference and taste for foreign goods and services, break of family systems and sense of community, and lack of industrialization, all greatly impacting the socio-economic development of Gold Coast-Ghana.

As stated in earlier chapters, various colonizers gave some form of education to their colonies in Africa, but the British approach and interest in Gold Coast was unique during the research period, this is in part the significance of this study. Making reference to the center and periphery, Carpenter noted the center, which is mostly the dominating power, is the one who determines who gets what, when, and how.⁴⁰¹ This confirms the power and authority of the Governor when he asked what form of education should men of European civilization give to a primitive people in tropical Africa? And yes! The type of education given to the primitive people of Africa, of which Gold Coast-Ghana is a part, were those which only sought to give general education in literature and that which required to give character training to make them good citizens, i.e., education that made them interpreters, messengers, store keepers, and clerks, and that which would keep them where they belong. Consistent with the literature, similar thoughts were expressed by Dr. Verwoerd, one of the designers of Bantu/apartheid education stating:

When I am controller of Native Education, I will reform it so that the natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them ... The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community. There is no place for him in the European community above certain forms of labor.... Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life-according to the sphere in which they live.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., Carpenter 1939

⁴⁰² Ibid., Birley 1968: 152–58.

Confirming the same in the Gold Coast was when Guggisberg acknowledged concerns by sections of British colonial workers that educating the indigenous person was deliberately interfering with European employment in the Gold Coast.⁴⁰³ To keep the men and women of the Gold Coast where they belonged meant giving them inadequate education. This also explains how the system was deliberately made to marginalize the natives by those in the various colonial positions while implementing policies. What happens between policy formulation and policy implementation is an ignored aspect that future research may focus on.

Although schooling and education were marketed as the way for growth and development to make men and women who would be leaders of their own country, it actually appeared as if there was an expected limit to how high African students could go given the racism that underpinned colonialism.⁴⁰⁴ As noted in the literature review, even in extra-curricular like sporting activities there was segregation. Some sporting activities were available to only Europeans or White students, while others were available to both Africans and European students, giving the European student a double win over Africans. The earning potential as a result of playing in those sports, should students want to turn professional, was also very different.⁴⁰⁵ Cricket, rugby, tennis, hockey, and polo were generally for White students. Soccer, netball, volleyball, track and field events, on the other hand, were open to all students; these sports had a considerably lower earning potential then.⁴⁰⁶ The researcher sees the wide gap between what policy said and what it actually did. The colonial officers were convinced by doing this “it will be many long years before natives fit to fill the higher appointments in the Government service.”⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰³ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: 10.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., Christie 1990

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., Grier 1999: 317–35.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., Davies John, 1986: 351–63.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., Guggisberg 1924: Chapter V: 29.

The educational policies which aimed at university education denied the indigens what was needed to become useful skilled craftsmen to enable them to tap the resources and cultivate the fertile lands. With the kind of education given to the Gold Coast child, many native students yearned for white-collar jobs which did not exist or for which they were not qualified enough. Yes, the colonial government used native people with administrative training and skills, but only a few got the position because for positions as clerks, store keepers, and interpreters only a few vacancies were available at any point in time and just a few natives with this training could be employed. And for higher administrative offices, policies were in place to keep natives from interfering with European positions. With the numerous untapped resources, the Hampton-Tuskegee-British Bourgeoisie model was the perfect choice to develop native children and the economy of the Gold Coast. Unfortunately, Guggisberg's administration's interest leaned more towards building a model secondary school for university education, which was a major part of the 10 policies listed in Chapter 4. Why would the Governor's enthusiasm for agricultural, industrial, and vocational education drain for secondary and university education? Guggisberg cannot be faulted entirely for this part of the research findings because, though the Legislative Assembly welcomed and supported his educational policies presented in 1924, there were occasions where prominent natives of the Gold Coast raised concerns about vital aspects which seemed to them "placing undue emphasis on relatively trivial matters-such as handicrafts and sports, at the expense of essential matters such as the adequate development of literary studies, which they think was necessary if their countrymen were to attain positions of power in the modern world."⁴⁰⁸ This explains why Nana Ofori Atta, a member of the legislative assembly, submitted a copy of the resolution made by the paramount chiefs to the colonial secretary. These prominent men of the Gold Coast felt giving their sons and daughters training in the handicrafts,

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., as cited by David Williams.

sports would retard their progress into higher education. They were of the view that receiving agricultural, vocational, and industrial training (which were already in practice before the introduction of western formal education) would make their sons and daughters manual workers upon experiencing how European offices operated in the Gold Coast. They did not consider these endeavors decent and would not make their sons and daughters lead their own country. They held the view; “western type education unfitted a man for manual work.”⁴⁰⁹ The contempt for manual work from the researcher’s perspective could be so because the manual laborer was usually paid less, didn’t look professional in dress appearance like the others, and were generally looked down upon with disdain.

The men and women who were to become leaders of their own country lost their language, cultural identity and religion, family systems as well as their sense of community. The loss of these were replaced with their preference and taste for foreign goods and services resulting from the success of imperialist diffusion and cultural assimilation through the school system’s policies and curriculum. As Malisa and Missedja put it “colonial education was in many ways an important component of colonizing the mind, and the curriculum played an important role.”⁴¹⁰ For example, the ban of indigenous languages in schools replaced by English language as the main medium of instruction and communication was also what determined the success of a native child. Students who spoke and passed English examinations were considered brilliant and eloquent.⁴¹¹ Semali’s experience was the same growing up as a student in Tanganyika. In McGarvey’s article, Semali recalled how they were no longer allowed to speak their native language, Kichagga, but made to speak English.⁴¹² These standards with which the

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., Shoko Yamada.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011:192-3.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., Malissa and Missedja 2011: 190-2.

⁴¹² Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011: 192-3.

indigenous students were measured could be the reason why prominent Gold Coast natives and paramount chief demanded more attention and resource for literary education over agricultural, craftsmanship, and vocational training, that which I think the Gold Coast needed the most at the time.

At some point natives who had received education and training began to look down on their fellows while others started identifying as British. Prior studies showed “too many students leave our schools with just enough knowledge to alienate them from the soil and make them contemptuous of their brothers who have remained in the village.”⁴¹³ This finding reflects McGarvey’s narration about Semali’s⁴¹⁴ real life experience in his article indicating “the colonial school I attended did not teach me to be a member of Chagga society; although I had certain knowledge system as a member of the village, I read, wrote, and spoke things at school that did not fit into village life.”⁴¹⁵ He confirmed as mentioned earlier in this study that the colonial school was set up to instill the values and practices of the colonizers on the indigenous people so that the indigenous people would open up their land and their minds to market economies.”⁴¹⁶ Through brainwashing and changing the natives’ way of life in order to become just like the young English man in Britain, the indigenous values of love, sense of community, family, and their profound spirituality were lost.⁴¹⁷

The education of the native child was a misfit for their community. This brought many unanswered questions as their interest, preference, and taste for European goods and services increased. Like in McGarvey’s article about Semali’s real life experience, Chagga which is Semali’s village began to have its traditions fall apart replacing their knowledge that had enabled

⁴¹³ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011, 192-3.

⁴¹⁴ Semali is a Tanzanian man who had his master and Ph.D. degree and experienced colonization for nearly a century under Germans, and then the British after the first World War.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; as cited by Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011, 194-5.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., Malissa and Missedja 2011.

⁴¹⁷ Omlewa, 2006 as cited by Malissa and Missedja 2011.

them to be self-reliant with the European way of life. By his account, they became dependent on the British and other Europeans to provide them with their everyday needs as food clothing, and shelter.⁴¹⁸ The same experience was evidenced in Gold Coast-Ghana because imperial diffusion and cultural assimilation stressed the superiority of everything British over natives, and this translated in the everyday life of the indigence, retarding national growth and development.

When it came to sense of community and belongingness, family ties were broken. The separation of the native child from their families and community to receive education and character training as seen in the findings resonates with Semali's story as told by McGarvey that "the trust of the community was betrayed. We were taught by the village to trust each other as children, but now we learned that we could not trust each other."⁴¹⁹ "The community bonded us but colonial schools divided us, teaching us that the only people we should trust were the colonizers, the colonial teachers, and the government."⁴²⁰ At some point, families even sent away their educated children from their villages and community because they were made to believe they did not belong there anymore. Western formal education thus made graduates unfit for their communities and for the tending of farm animals that was the village's livelihood.⁴²¹

Still Leaving the Colonial Legacy? A Personal Narrative of Research

Findings

Introduction

Accra-Ghana, formally the Gold Coast in West Africa, is where I was born and raised. On the same soil I received K-12 education and proceeded to the first ever education university

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011, 192-3.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011, 192-3.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., McGarvey 1997; Çağrı, Tuğrul Mart 2011, 192-3.

⁴²¹ Ibid., CPCR 1999: 268, Çağrı, T., Mart 2011, 192-3.

in sub-Sahara Africa, the University of Education, Winneba (UEW) located in the central region of Ghana. At UEW, myself and many passionate young fellows from all over the country and other parts of the continent trained, with many still receiving knowledge and skills to become professional teachers of high standard. Beginning my education from a private owned pre-school at Anchor of Hope Academy, I continued through elementary to middle school at Santa Maria School Complex in Santa Maria, Accra-Ghana where I successfully passed my Basic Education Certificate Examination (B.E.C.E) and was placed in my first-choice senior high school, Okuapemman School at Akropong-Akwapem, Eastern region of Ghana.

Okuapemman School, now Okuapemman Senior High School, is a boarding mixed school, with a denominational affiliation to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Unlike the missionary senior high schools established by the missions like Mfantsipim (Wesleyan), my senior high school I suppose was influenced by the dominance of the Basel missionaries' activities in Akropong, as elaborated in Chapter 1 of this study.

Growing up as a Christian, from a Christian home, in a Christian dominant community and nation, one can tell the impact of the early European missions on the Ghanaian citizenry. This impact did not only reflect in our beliefs, act of worship, and doctrines but in the various aspects of our livelihood as a people and a nation as whole introduced to us by the colonizer. I can only appreciate all the experiences growing up especially as a student and later a professional teacher at the senior high school for seven years, while finding answers to the question, if we as a people and nation are still living the colonial legacies after 64 years of independence and 61 years of republic?

Connecting Personal Experiences with Research Findings

Growing up as Ghanaian, English language has always been a measure of intelligence and eloquence right from pre-school, despite the over 50 languages spoken across the length and

breadth of the country. The success of the Ghanaian child in school is usually measured by the ability to express one's self in the 'Queens' language. As a requirement schools across the nation have rules insisting all students speak English in and around the premises and even on the way home. The exception is during Ghanaian language classes. Parents are also encouraged to speak English language with their wards at home; this is believed to help ensure continuity of school work and to keep us fluent. As with the colonial school system, individuals found speaking vernacular-any indigenous language(s) were punished by caning, kneeling down with hands up, hanging a card with the inscription "I will speak English always" on the neck, writing a full exercise book with "I will speak English always" or whatever was deemed appropriate by the implementing authority. At some point, 'eloquent' students who are in the good books of teachers were set as spies to report friends and classmates heard speaking vernacular in school and on the way home. Friends betrayed each other by reporting themselves secretly to teachers, just to win their hearts while feeling special. This is how we continued to learn to be cautious of each other as a people, even with the sense of community we take pride in. I am not by this assertion condoning/ encouraging cover ups for wrong doings, but relating the emphasis of speaking English over community belongingness. Just as the British colonial school system taught natives' children to trust them more and to be extremely careful among ourselves, since one cannot tell who will sell them out.

Because English language is the main means of communication and expression, I remember getting away many times in elementary school even when I was wrong. My smallish self with the confidence and eloquence in the queen's language at any point in time, always got me off the hook. Other students who were not articulate would cry bitterly and complain to their family and friends about how they were penalized for an act they didn't commit, only to be questioned why they couldn't explain their side of the issue in English to the teacher, exactly

how they have done explaining to them in their local dialect. Few who were unlucky were severely punished by their parents for their inability to express themselves in the queen's language and for not taking their English lessons seriously.

English grammar, reading, speaking, and writing was so emphasized with seriousness that it had bearing on everything except during vocational skills, home science, physical education, and life skills lessons. During these lessons, I can recall everyone spoke what language they were comfortable with, usually Twi and Ga (Ga was the Ghanaian language taught at Santa Maria School Complex, because the school is located in Accra and as indicated in Chapter 1, the predominate ethnic language(s) were those taught in schools). Even though the medium of instruction is English, the teacher could use vernacular for clarity and this made so much sense and gave a better picture of the lessons. We interacted a lot in these lessons and each of us expressed ourselves freely without feeling embarrassed or teased about wrong tenses. I must say, class participation was encouraging and many who dared speaking in other lessons found their voices and made meaningful contributions.

The low prestige and disdain for these subjects might be the justification for the use of vernacular, because both have been classified as not useful in building smart students for human resource prospects. Individuals who show interest in the subjects are looked at as lazy, called names, and seen as not having any prospects. This did affect students' interest in pursuing further studies in such fields and most parents never encouraged their wards to venture into it. Right! You can imagine the many talents and individuals who did not pursue their passion and my childhood neighbor and friend was one such person.

The Ghanaian community usually made fun and look down on students pursuing studies in such fields. Even though vocational and technical education through apprenticeship was the practice even before western formal education and the community's livelihood depended on that,

people still ignored this fact. So, if we as a people have any heritage to keep, then it should be vocational and technical education. But no, the contempt for these professions, skills, and training which same was evidenced in the research findings, lingers on with no awakening after many years of self-rule. As a matter of fact, cut off grades for placement in these programs into higher education is lowed comparatively. One could argue this is to recruit more students into the area of specialization, but another would justify it's because students who usually wish to pursue same are those below the academic ladder, with few exceptions. At the senior high technical school where I taught for seven years, I saw students with worse grades usually placed in these programs by the Computerized School and Placement System (CSSPS), or considered into such as a last resort. The few students with better grades who found themselves there, felt they didn't belong and ended up changing their programs or leaving the school for "better option" they desired (usually General Art, General Science, and Business).

Why should everything about our educational system be entangled in/with mastering the queen's language? The British, Koreans, Chinese, Japanese, Germans, French, and Americans to mention a few, have succeeded to a large extent in various sectors of their economy using their native/ own language. This is evidenced in their economy and national development because throughout the world, no single language has been denoted as the standard contributor for progress. I agree that the queen's language is terrific! I have been privileged, being an English speaker. For example, during my application for Master's studies here at Kansas State University (KSU), the TOFEL test score was waived because my country of birth is officially English-speaking and I had all my education in same. So, I'm definitely not arguing the language be taken away from us, it's been with us all these years and it's also a recognized global language. What I am pushing for based on my experience as a Ghanaian student and educator is, it should not be the basis for human resource development and progress in our own republic. Look, those

mechanics, welders, masons, steel benders, seamstress, beauticians, plumbers, culinary arts people, etc. whose training/skills involves lots of physics, chemistry, and mathematics are super brilliant people who might have dropped out of school simply because of English or did not get the opportunity into higher education because they failed the English language exam or just preferred to go into apprenticeship for that skill outside a western formal classroom structure. The Chinese acknowledged this barrier and by that, were able to keep their best and gifted students in school simply because they removed the burden and barrier of English by encouraging the use of their local language at all levels. It's not by default or mistake that we have our mother tongue, I agree and ask that we revisit our roots as a people. *Sankofa – the wisdom in learning from the past which ensures a strong future* is the way forward. English language to a very large extent is overly emphasized in Ghana and among many English-speaking Africa. As a continent we have made it a proof of intelligence, a determinate of status, and an integrity for national progress. This I think shouldn't be so. It's time to break out of these shackles the queen's language keeps, dictates, and continues to limit us, as a people. We must snap out. One's talent, skills, training, abilities, and potentials must not be developed or put to effective use based on their English-speaking, comprehension, and/or writing abilities. Adopting and teaching in a native language in Ghanaian schools and for every day transaction would aid for a deeper and better comprehension of the various subjects/courses taught in our schools and life in general. Using a native language will bring out our veracity and the capabilities we have as a people. If we can check the use of the queen's language and put it in an approach such that it does not impede our human resource and national development, that would be a great step heading for progress!

Unfortunately, the change of focus and inadequate modernization/globalization of our indigenous systems of education, coupled with the continuous fading of interest of same, is what

has brought us where we are as a nation. Lacking any form of industrial, technological, and agricultural growth, is reflected in development of every sector of our economy. Even though *Oboadi* – the creator of the universe – has been generous to the nation by endowing our land with numerous natural resources, and fertility, most of these minerals and farms produce gold, diamonds, bauxite, manganese, cocoa, and recently oil is still been exported to Europe, Asia, and the Americas in their raw forms/as raw materials. It is then processed into semi or finished goods/products, and sold back to us or imported by us at exorbitant prices, just as it was many years ago. The only different thing is, this time, extraction and exportation of the mineral resources is not done by or under colonial influence, but through various neo-colonialism tactics. Basically, the lack of/inadequate skilled and technical personnel to tap the minerals resources stems from the bookish school systems and curricula/ educational borrowing by Ghana from same influencers of the colonial educational systems, who by default remain pace setters and panaceas for education globally. This type of education has produced and continues to churn out graduates with little or no practical experience in the vocational and technical fields. Many such graduates are theoretically vexed, can identify and prove the cause of a technical problem but usually are unable to fix or come up with inventions to meet national needs. Successive governments' efforts to revamp vocational, technical, and agriculture education for industrialization have not seen much success largely due to lack of/inadequate commitment on the side of government, lack of policy continuity, and discontinuity of government projects by successive governments.

As a result, the sector which many attest could be the panacea for human resource and national development leading to a buoyant economy, continues to see governments and private individuals bring in expatriates, their industries, and technology. These expatriates from Britain, America, all over Europe, and recently China are chosen over the few Ghanaians making it in

this sector. The taste and preference for foreign goods and the superiority accorded to such goods and services has become a national canker. Again, this reflects a continuation of the British colonial government's cultural imperialism and assimilation through the school system, which did not necessarily make them to control everything in Gold Coast–Ghana physically, but also set the scene to control us mentally. The repercussion is resounding!

Interestingly, Ghanaian men and women who have had some academic degrees, training or have apprenticeship in these fields are then employed by these expatriates and their international firms, for subordinate positions, as laborers, cleaners, etc. with minimal wage and bad conditions of services. Same was the case during the Guggisberg Era as outlined in this study. The pitiful side is the land allocations, tax holidays, business agreements, and contracts signed between the government of Ghana and these international firms are mouthwatering! That which is not provided for the Ghanaian investor, whose investment capital and profits most likely remains in the country. Our governments as a body who determines who gets what, when and how, keeps ignoring the fact about the huge remittances these international firms and expatriates take home to better their economies and same reflecting in their livelihoods, at our detriment. With this, they continue to lead as the center, having everything that we the periphery would get attracted to. This could be one of the many reasons for Ghana's continuous borrowing from IMF, apart from the high-level corruption and embezzlement of public funds.

Still on technical, vocational, and agricultural education, I recall as a class and social studies teacher for two technical programs in the school, I spent few minutes each time during lessons or class meetings, explaining, encouraging, and debunking the myth surrounding their choice to be in that program. Most of my students worried about their future prospects with such fields and many others felt discouraged as there seemed to be no clear pathway leading to the pursuit of their interest. My students were often looked down upon by students in the arts,

sciences, and business. They were often called on to assist when extra hands were needed for manual work around the school. At Okuapemman school, where we had a school farm, students in the major agricultural program were responsible for maintaining the farm even though the produce served the over 1000 students in the boarding house and we all had some lessons on the farm intermittently. Again, students in this program were often teased and classified as people from the country side/villages because farming in Ghana is done by village folks. Largely they were one of the least acknowledged groups of students. I was therefore not amazed when my younger sister Deborah, complained of the worst experience in her high school and took the decision to drop out of the program for a General Arts class, even when it meant staying a year back from her colleagues.

The disdain for agriculture education, a useful field to Ghana's economy with a great employment and job prospect owing to the vast arable land, and considerable climatic condition has instead become less attractive to the young men and women who are to become future leaders. Could weeding as a form of punishment in Ghanaian high schools be a contributing factor to the lack of interest in agricultural science by the youth? I do acknowledge and miss the school farm at Okuapemman. As a teacher I think this is one good colonial initiative, although the colonizer had other motives. Like the research finding, from 2001 to 2004 at high school, we students in the boarding house had dining meals supplemented with eggs and chicken from the school farm. I am not sure if these farms are still operating, but from observations and high school teaching experience, schools no longer have farms. While the cost of operation and maintaining is high, is that higher than spending millions of dollars importing to feed the ever-growing high school enrollments due to growing population and the free senior high education? Even if these farms cannot be large enough to supplement meals, they would be a good resource

to reduce abstract teaching/learning of agricultural concepts and phenomena while instilling interest and breaking myths about youth in agriculture.

Earlier, I mentioned I live in Accra and had my high school education at Akropong-Akwapim in the Eastern region of Ghana. So, at Okuapemman School I was a boarding student. We were assigned a house mistress and assistant from day one, who were responsible for our well-being, character formation, and discipline. In fact, most things I found myself doing in my career as house mistress of 150 female boarding students were picked up during my days there. When I was appointed a house mistress at the high school where I taught in 2012, we had just started the female boarding school system in what used to be an all-male senior high technical school. Findings from this study indicate colonial missionaries used boarding schools to indoctrinate and to prevent pagan families of new converts from contaminating their new found faith while the colonial government believed the boarding school was the only place to ensure the necessary character formation needed for the men and women who are to become leaders of their own country. And these in part became the responsibility of a housemaster.

What I observed and experienced as a boarding student and the role I played as a house mistress for six years resonates with the colonial housemaster's responsibilities for the period under study, with even more expectations. Parents felt and preferred the boarding school to day schools as the best and most appropriate place for character formation, discipline, and dedication to academic work, just as Guggisberg emphasized in the findings. Families mostly prefer a boarding senior high school of their denomination/affiliate and others where religious value is paramount. And all students are under obligation to respect, obey, and follow the religious doctrine of the school or drop out. The boarding school system follows an alarm which reminds everyone what and where to be at every point in time during the day. All students were expected to wake at a certain time to begin the day until it's time to return to bed. Students have their

various house chores, mostly cleaning the school compound, restrooms, classrooms, and dining place, which must be done early morning before the first assembly/morning devotions. Each student, whether a boarder or day student needs permission in a form of exeat, that are to be issued only by their respective house mistress/master and other authorized persons, without which a student cannot move out of the walls of the school. Recalcitrant students were punished after a disciplinary committee's verdict and the recommended punishments were applied as enshrined in the school rules and regulations accordingly. The kind of punishment ranges from first warning, clearing a portion of weedy area with cutlass to deboarding (been expelled from the boarding house). So, this basically follows the colonial system during Guggisberg's Era, meaning this has been in practice since then.

Now, you would agree per this narrative that, if over the last two decade the research findings are still reflective, then the response to the question I posed earlier about "if we were still living the colonial legacy" is yes! As a people of 64 years independence from colonial rule, we are largely living the colonial legacy in education. Unfortunately, some positive ones like the school farms, which could be very relevant to our human resource and national development have been stopped while we hold on to all the ones that continue to impacted us negatively.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion and Recommendations

Introduction

This study has given an overview of colonial educational policies and curriculum from 1919 to 1927 in Gold Coast-Ghana. Through a historical account the study highlighted how education was before the arrival and introduction of western formal education, the role the various European settlers and missionary groups played towards western formal education in Gold Coast-Ghana. Then most especially, the British Colonial Government's educational policies and curriculum in Gold Coast-Ghana under Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg.

Conclusions

From Chapter 5 it is evidenced, although Frederick Gordon Guggisberg outlined the sixteen educational policies which informed the school curriculum, what the policies said and sought to achieve were largely different from what the policies did and achieved. The policies and curricula that were to make young men and women leaders of their own country, instead made them subordinates who served British Colonial Government interest.

The study also explored the impact of colonial educational policies/ curriculum on Gold Coast-Ghana. The impacts which were categorized into negative and positives had interesting findings. Positive impacts such as infrastructural development in schools, roads and railway network, the introduction of English language, new farming method and additional crop species are some significant findings which are mostly silent in post-colonial write ups on education in British Africa. I however argue that, all these positive impacts were geared for the colonizers' gains and on the basis of interest convergence.⁴²²

⁴²² As Derrick Bell puts it "the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interest of whites". Derrick A. Bell, "Brown v and Board of Education Interest Convergence Dilemma," *Harvard Law Review* vol. 93, no. 3 (Jan. 1980), 518-533.

Colonial government's intent and interest to make use of the community's resources thereby modeling Gold Coast's education after Hampton-Tuskegee-British Bourgeoisie model, drastically changed focus, interest, and commitments towards higher education. With this, I believe so much attention and resources were committed to the Achimota school project that little efforts were made towards other aspects of the sector. Thus, this inversely affected the whole socio-economic development of Gold Coast-Ghana. Available literature confirms the school curriculum adopted in Achimota was just a kind of education borrowed from England and didn't respond to the needs of the nation.⁴²³

While acknowledging the impacts of colonial rule in Gold Coast-Ghana, I emphatically state what the policies and curriculum said were different from what it did. The findings affirm that, western formal education introduced to the people of Gold Coast-Ghana by the Christian missionaries and the British colonial government didn't serve the interest of natives. Rather, it brought about the loss of language, loss of heritage and way of life as people of Gold Coast-Ghana, the preference/taste for foreign goods and services, inferior education for subordinate positions, as well as our dignity. The colonial government's education from 1919 to 1927 aimed at character development through training and civilization of a 'primitive' people instead resulted in acculturation, religious proselytism, and philology/ language dominance. These together became the medium for imperialism and inculcation of western traditions, values, way of life, and systems.

Contribution of Knowledge

This research has contributed to the call of analyzing colonial educational policy and curriculum to reconceptualize the past and present educational systems and initiate a paradigm

⁴²³ Ibid., as cited by David Williams

shift following Jacques Derrida, M. Omolewa, and Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o's traditions. Hence, the study contributes to both theory and practice.

Conducting the study as a Ghanaian researcher, a prospective educational policy analyst, and curriculum developer gives me the opportunity to delve into pre-colonial education, western formal education, and colonial educational policies and curriculum to better understand the educational journey that has come this far for Ghana.

Sharing findings of this study can help Ghanaian teachers and students to acquaint themselves with how education has evolved over the years. This will contribute to making a collective effort to unlearn and deculturize the colonizers oppressive ideologies taught through our school system, which has been passed on generations after generations in various forms.

By finding archival documents, pictures, primary, and secondary source data, I have gained insight into Ghanaian educational history, origin of educational policy in Gold Coast-Ghana, and how systems can be designed to disadvantage a group of people. These insights bring us to acknowledge the relevance of historical research in every field of study. Thus, anyone who seeks to make meaningful revisions must consider bringing the historical context into perspective. For the Government of Ghana and stake holders in education, this would help identify the relationship between previous and current policies and curriculum, pin down shortcomings and what caused them, and then recognize areas that need attention/ improvement for the human capital and national needs

Theoretically, this study has contributed generally to existing literature on colonial education in Africa and most specifically to colonial educational policies and curriculum in Gold Coast-Ghana. The findings have also established how CPA and PCT used in the study connects what policies said during Governor Guggisberg's administration and what it actually was at the implementing stage. It also showed how such disconnections reflected in the lives of the people

of Gold Coast and the subsequent social reproduction Ghana has seen over the years, as expressed in the personal narrative.

Policy Recommendation/Future Research

Elements from this research have deeply informed these recommendations and inputs for future research. Even though they are not in entirety and conclusive, they could be useful as a starting point for present and future dialogues in educational policy formulation and curriculum development in Ghana.

To succeed in deculturalizing policies of the colonizers, future research should focus on comparative studies analyzing past educational policies with current happenings, and how the present is reflective of the former. Findings of such inform a critical analysis of how past events have shaped the present educational policies and school curriculum, which could also be an empowering resource for Ghanaians to fully participate in reforms for their own educational development and to regain their lost identity.

This study which happens to be about the period when Gold Coast-Ghana had a proliferation in educational development, a kind never experienced in British Africa, offers researchers the opportunity to find out why the well-thought-out policies announced did not receive the expected outcome. What happens between policy formulation and policy implementation is an ignored aspect of policy research that future studies may want to focus. This would help fill the gap and appropriate measures put in place for future policy formulations and reforms.

Based on the above recommendation, government agents should intensely consult and engage all stake holders including Ghana Education Service (GES), National Council for Curriculum Assessment (NaCCA), Curriculum Research and Development Division (CRDD),

National Inspectorate Board (NIB), and National Teacher's Council (NIC) at all levels of policy formulation and curriculum development through to evaluation/assessment stages.

Teachers and teacher organizations such as National Association of Ghana Teachers (GNAT), National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) and Coalition of Concern Teachers- Ghana (CcT-gh) must be thoroughly part of these engagements. Research findings in areas of education must be accessible to every teacher at all levels for insightful engagement with students. Most often, findings related of such studies are usually shared among few individuals in the top hierarchy, who are not in touch with the implementing agents, and have lost touch with classroom activities many years ago. Opening up and making educational research findings accessible to all stake holders would go a long way to improve education in Ghana.

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